

**THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AT MYTILENE:
A DIACHRONIC
AND
CONTEXTUAL STUDY**

**Volume One
Text**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis describes and analyses the archaeological remains of the Demeter sanctuary at Mytilene, Lesbos which was excavated from 1983 to 1994. The thesis is divided into two sections, the main text and a site catalogue. In the main text, chapters one and two provide a discussion of the possible origins of Demeter and a detailed description of the remains of the sanctuary at Mytilene. Chapters three and four examine topography and artifacts from a broad range of Demeter sanctuaries, while chapter five discusses a selection of sanctuaries of other Greek goddesses. The conclusions from these three chapters are used to form parameters by which Demeter sanctuaries may be more reliably identified archaeologically. Chapter six returns to the specific study of Mytilene, assessing it in relation to other Demeter sanctuaries and examining its local social, political and religious contexts. Finally, the catalogue records Demeter sanctuaries from coastal Asia Minor, the Black Sea, mainland Greece and the islands, North Africa and Sicily, providing the data used for comparanda and analysis.

Analysis of Greek Demeter sanctuaries indicates that they are usually small and often not adorned with numerous structures, but they are seldom hypaethral. Location is not a good characteristic for archaeological identification because, throughout the Greek world, sanctuaries can be intraurban, extraurban or set in isolated areas. There *may* be a slight correlation between the location of the sanctuary and the festival celebrated within, but this conclusion is problematic because of the secrecy of many of Demeter's rites and because sanctuaries may have housed more than one festival. There is also no definitive artifact assemblage, but there are some artifacts which have a strong correlation with the worship of Demeter including *hydrophoroi*, miniature hydriai, lamps, women's objects, feasting wares and faunal remains, notably suids. These artifacts are especially indicative when present in large numbers.

The sanctuary at Mytilene was active from the Archaic period to circa the first century A.D. The large numbers of artifacts from the diagnostic categories mentioned above, indicate that the sanctuary was dedicated to Demeter, while its chthonic elements argue that it may have been a Thesmophorion. Comparanda indicates that although its location on the acropolis is rare, it is not prohibitive to its identification. This sanctuary was evidently important to life in Mytilene town and the sanctuary phases can be conjoined with the local *polis* history.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The titles of journals and other sources used in this thesis are abbreviated according to the AJA. Other abbreviations found in the thesis are as follows:

<u>AEMΘ</u>	<u>Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη</u>
<u>AS</u>	<u>Anatolian Studies.</u>
<u>AvP</u>	<u>Altertumer von Pergamon XIII, Das Demeter-Heiligtum.</u>
<u>CCCA</u>	<u>Vermaseren, Maarten, Corpus Cultus Cybele Attidisque.</u> <u>Leiden: E.J. Brill., vols. 1 to 8.</u>
<u>EGCP</u>	<u>Early Greek Cult Practice, Proceedings of the Fifth</u> <u>International Symposium at the Swedish Institute, Robin</u> <u>Hägg, Nanno Marinatos and Gullög C. Nordquist (edd.)</u>
<u>ECM</u>	<u>Echos du Monde Classique/Classical View.</u>
<u>HG</u>	<u>Herzog, R., 1928. Heilige Gesetze von Kos. Berlin.</u>
<u>IvE</u>	<u>Die Inschriften von Ephesus</u>
<u>IvEK</u>	<u>Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai</u>
<u>IvS</u>	<u>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</u>
<u>LIMC</u>	<u>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</u>
<u>Mat. Res.</u>	<u>Materiali i Issledovaniya po Archeologii SSSR.</u>

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an archaeological examination of the sanctuary of Demeter at Mytilene, including an analysis of the sanctuary itself and comparisons with other sanctuaries, both those of Demeter and of other Greek goddesses. It was originally intended to be an analysis of Mytilene alone, however, it soon became clear that in order to place Mytilene into its proper context, that context itself needed further examination and research. Despite Demeter's importance in the daily lives of the ancient Greeks, much of the current information about her concentrates on her myths and specific festivals, especially the Greater Mysteries and Thesmophoria, at the expense of wider archaeological knowledge. Indeed, a significant number of site identifications and subsequent analyses rely heavily on perceived general beliefs about Demeter and her sanctuaries rather than on researched data. A second aim of this thesis then became either to substantiate, or to dispute these general beliefs and thereby provide a more solid basis for the archaeological identification of Demeter sanctuaries.

There has always been an interest in Demeter and her cult. Ancient sources contain many references to this goddess, but unfortunately they are frequently brief and provide little specific information about her sanctuaries and only tantalizing hints about festivals and beliefs. This may be due to rules proscribing the revelation of the cult to non-initiates, but there may also have been some misogynistic bias against expending much interest on the festivals practiced predominantly by women. The most informative literary sources include the Hymn to Demeter, the Theogony, Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazousae, Callimachus' Hymn to Demeter, Pausanias' Guide to Greece and writings by the Church Fathers. Each offers insights into Demeter's worship, but each author also presents his themes with poetic license, personal biases, mistakes and even fallacies or distorted facts.

In the late nineteenth century the discovery, early excavation and the beginning of publication of such sanctuaries as Eleusis, Knidos and Halikarnassos sparked an increasing interest in Demeter. One of the earliest specialized studies of this goddess was published by Lewis Richard Farnell in 1907. This work, although now dated, is still very valuable because it is the first comprehensive attempt to study Demeter and

her cult. Farnell examined literature, archaeology, art, myth, and current anthropology in a laudable attempt to understand the place this goddess held in the Greek world.

Since Farnell, much modern scholarship has focused on the elucidation of Demeter's cult; ancient sources and select sanctuaries have been analyzed in an attempt to quantify the rituals of the Greater Mysteries and the Thesmophoria. Many of these early interpretations are limited, apparently written by scholars with the pre-conceived notion that the purpose of the various festivals was for women to gather and indulge in orgies. Increasing interest in the function of religion in society and of the lives of women has, however, resulted in the appearance of interpretive works which focus on the functions and meanings of the festivals, rather than the proposed details of specific rituals¹. Interest has also increased in the material remains of cult; religion is being studied more and more in conjunction with the physical and social contexts of the sanctuaries, rather than as a separate entity. This trend is becoming particularly evident in the study of Demeter. Demeter cult is well disposed to pan-hellenic examination because one of her central festivals, the Thesmophoria, was celebrated throughout the Greek world; every *polis* may have had at least one Thesmophorion, and it is actually likely that every town and village had its own sanctuary. This large number of sanctuaries, all with apparently similar festivals, provides an outstanding opportunity for the study of this Greek cult. The study of Demeter has also benefited considerably from the systematic excavation of such sanctuaries as Acrocorinth, Cyrene, Eretria, Knossos, Pergamon and Troy, each with interdisciplinary examination of pottery, small finds, faunal materials, ancient sources and regional studies².

This thesis is divided into two parts: the main text and a site catalogue. The text is arranged into six chapters. Chapter one is a summary of the possible origins and development of the cult of Demeter. Chapter two is a detailed archaeological description of the focus site of this work: Demeter's sanctuary at Mytilene. Chapters three to five use the comparanda gathered in the site catalogue to examine three

¹For example see: Brumfield, 1981; Burkert, 1985; Cole, 1994; Detienne, 1989; Graf, 1985; Jost, 1985 and 1992; Nixon, 1995; Renfrew, 1985.

² The current regional approach to studying ancient Greek society and religion will no doubt also add more detailed information on local trends and influences, for example: Jameson, et al, 1994; Jost, 1985; Pullen, 1995; Schachter, 1981.

related topics in an attempt to understand and 'define' a sanctuary in order to facilitate its archaeological recognition. Chapter three examines the internal and external topography of sanctuaries in an attempt to discover the most customary sanctuary types and their locations. In chapter four, small finds are analyzed in the quest for a concise and diagnostic artifact assemblage and in chapter five, a selection of sanctuaries of Kybele, Athena, Artemis and Hera are compared topographically and artifactually to those of Demeter in order to discern differences that could be used to identify excavated sanctuaries that lack epigraphical evidence. Chapter six returns to the examination of Mytilene: the data acquired in the previous chapters is here used to place Mytilene's sanctuary into its local, topographical, artifactual, religious, social and Hellenic contexts.

The catalogue inventories Demeter sanctuaries in mainland Greece, the Aegean islands and coastal Asia Minor - areas most likely to have had similar cults or to have influenced the sanctuary and cult found at Mytilene. Only a small selection of sanctuaries are included in the catalogue from Italy and Sicily, the Black Sea and North Africa. These sites seem to have had less influence on Mytilene, but they are included to ensure a broad data base for comparison. The catalogue is arranged alphabetically by site name and each entry includes a select bibliography, a description and a plan (if available). All Demeter sanctuaries that are mentioned in the main body of the text are discussed further in the catalogue. It is also important to note that bibliography cited in the catalogue is not repeated in the main bibliography.

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Introduction

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CHAPTER ONE

DEMETER IN EARLY GREECE

Demeter is mentioned in the earliest known Greek literature, where she appears already complete with a detailed mythology and connected mystery cult¹. It is evident from this complexity that by the eighth century B.C. Demeter was already venerable even though the history of the goddess's development is uncertain. Her origins seem to lie to the east with the great fertility deities of the Fertile Crescent and Anatolia. Her early divine ancestors probably accompanied the spread of agricultural technology and then underwent a long process of change and development until the Hellenic Demeter evolved. This chapter provides a brief summary of the early peoples of Greece and the cultural environment that created this great agricultural deity.

Neolithic

Settled communities first appeared in Greece in the seventh millennium B.C. during the Early Neolithic period². The transition from Palaeolithic to Neolithic is marked by the development of sedentary agrarian and livestock-raising peoples from the hunting and gathering lifestyle of the earlier periods. People began to live in small communities with a subsistence economy based on grain crops and livestock, but their diet was supplemented by hunting, fishing and gathering wild plants³. Greece's fertile plains, especially those of Thessaly, were the primary centres of this cultural and

¹Homer, *Iliad* 5, 499-502; *Odyssey* 5, 125-127. Hesiod, *Theogony* xii, 912ff, 967ff; *Works And Days*, 299-301 and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.

²Weinberg, 1. 1, 559-562: Greece had considerable human occupation before the Neolithic period. By the Middle Palaeolithic period and possibly earlier, early Neanderthal-type people inhabited the Thessalian plain, Chalcidice, Elis, Western Macedonia and Epirus. Archaeological evidence indicates that these early peoples were hunters and gatherers, their sites yielding stone tools and bones of bear, deer and rhinoceros.

³The first Neolithic agrarian communities were small villages with crowded houses constructed of branches, reeds and mud daub. Increasingly efficient agricultural practices resulted in the development of large and complex urban societies with fortifications, specialisation and the first ruling class / cultic architecture. See: Nea Nikomedia in Macedonia, Weinberg, 1.1, 570, 575.

technological revolution⁴. Neolithic culture and technology slowly spread throughout Greece so that by the end of the seventh millennium Macedonia, Boeotia, Argolis, Messenia and Crete had made the transition to agriculture.

Greek Neolithic culture had connections with the east. The origins of the agrarian movement lay in the Fertile Crescent, a well-watered strip of land that arcs from the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers north to the boundary of the Syrian desert and then south to the border of Egypt. Early farming technology seemingly developed in this area and then diffused into Europe by way of Asia Minor⁵. Importantly for the study of the origins of the goddess Demeter, not only did agricultural technology, crops and animals disseminate from the Fertile Crescent⁶ but associated cultural and religious beliefs may also have diffused west into Anatolia and eventually into Greece. Evidence, however, for religious beliefs of the Greek Neolithic period is sparse. An artifact class that may give some insight into the beliefs of these early farmers is the stone or clay figurine portraying a naked woman. These statuettes depict obese females with a definite emphasis of the breasts, stomach, sex organs and buttocks⁷. The interpretation of the function and symbolism of these objects is problematic; they are generally identified as representations of an eastern-type Mother Goddess, a deity who was the embodiment of fertility in man, animal and plant life, or as having a function in the cult of such a goddess⁸. Evidence for this interpretation is extrapolated from Çatal Hüyük and Haçilar two Neolithic sites in Asia Minor⁹. These sites preserve

⁴Burkert, 11.

⁵ibid., 11.

⁶Burkert, 13: Crops, including barley and wheat, and animals, including goats and sheep, were not native to Greece, but to the east.

⁷Ucko, xv. This type of figurine is found in all known mainland Greek Neolithic sites and in many Cretan sites.

⁸Ucko, xv.

⁹Çatal Hüyük, and the later site of Haçilar, are Neolithic settlements in Asia Minor. There are no written references, and so their religious beliefs cannot be reconstructed with certainty, but Çatal Hüyük has a long series of well preserved shrine rooms with cult implements and Haçilar has a large number of well-preserved female cult figurines. At Çatal Hüyük, twenty-two possible shrines were discovered in archaeological levels that span one thousand or more years, during which time the cult showed little or no variation. The shrines consist of separate chambers within houses. These chambers contain platforms and benches set with bulls' horns. The walls of these shrine rooms are decorated with paintings of a Great Goddess. Plaster wall reliefs of the same goddess with upraised arms and straddled legs, occasionally shown giving birth to a ram or a bull, also decorate numerous shrines. Small figurines of terracotta or stone are also found within these sacred areas. These figurines mostly represent nude females and are shaped in the same general way as the Neolithic Greek examples with large breasts, bellies, sexual organs and buttocks. The Çatal Hüyük and Haçilar examples, however, show greater variation than the Greek examples, including a female statue with

elaborately decorated shrines with representations of a powerful female divinity, often shown giving birth. Female figurines, direct copies of the wall decorations, were found within these shrines. The presence of similar figurines in Neolithic Greek contexts has resulted in the theory that the agricultural lifestyle that spread to Greece also incorporated the belief in a mother-goddess type fertility deity.

Not all scholars agree with such an interpretation for the Greek figurines, claiming that there are too many interpretive problems to support such a conclusion¹⁰. This explanation assumes "spatial and temporal homogeneity", with these figurines representing the same deity in Crete, the Near East, Europe and Egypt and maintaining this meaning from the Palaeolithic period through to the Bronze Age¹¹. Instead, Burkert believes that the minimal communication attested in the Stone Age caused fragmentation rather than spiritual unity¹²; the figurine type may have thrived and spread, but its meaning and function was peculiar to each community .

Information about Neolithic religion is meager and hard to interpret, but it points to a belief in an afterlife, to sacrificial cult ritual and to the possible use of mainly female figurines for cultic purposes¹³. Neolithic Greek sites have not produced incontrovertible evidence for a great fertility goddess, but it is not unreasonable to assume that a fertility cult and deities did exist. It is not known if this proposed cult was a close copy of Eastern beliefs, was distinct to Neolithic Greece or even specific to individual communities within Greece.

The Bronze Age

Bronze working originally developed in the east in areas such as the Caucasus and Mesopotamia, regions that were rich in the required metals. Throughout the third millennium B.C., bronze metallurgy gradually spread west to the established agricultural centres in Greece. Metal tools and weapons were far superior to stone

a young male consort, women with children, women seated on leopards or holding leopard cubs. These sites provide clear evidence of religious continuity in this area of Asia Minor for at least five millennia and Burkert states that the association with the Asia Minor Great Mother Goddess of historical times (Kybele) with her leopards and lions, her *paredos*, society of men and bull sacrifice is irresistible.

¹⁰Ucko, 411ff; Burkert, , 12; D. Thompson, 1963, 87-89.

¹¹Ucko, 419.

¹²Burkert, 12.

implements and so the use of these new tools and the desire for more metal objects soon produced a surge in civilization greater than any seen since the introduction of agriculture itself. This new period experienced heightened specialization, the expansion of trade, especially in metals, the growth of farming due to more efficient tools and techniques, population growth, increased social and religious complexity, widening inequality in the distribution of wealth and power and the development of architecture as villages developed into towns. The Early and Middle Bronze Ages may also have been a time of cultural upheaval when land-hungry settlers came to Greece¹⁴. Peoples may have migrated from Anatolia across the Aegean islands to the eastern half of Greece settling in Boeotia, Attica, the Argolid and into Arkadia¹⁵. These people were from diverse cultures, races and areas and each group brought their own technologies and cultural beliefs. It was a time of massive growth and cultural diversity, but as the Bronze Age progressed strong, distinct cultures developed, including the Minoans of Crete and the Helladic culture of the mainland¹⁶.

Minoan Religion

The study of Minoan art and archaeology has furnished a preliminary understanding of the civilization's religious ideology and practices. Iconography and votive offerings suggest that the Minoans had a fundamental belief in a nature and fertility goddess, or possibly a number of such goddesses, each with her own sphere of influence. Seal stones and rings are excellent sources for religious artwork, supplying a rich series of cultic scenes. Typical views include: shrines, goddesses receiving worshippers or controlling animals, processions and dancing. Specific individual elements appear repeatedly including: horns of consecration, double axes and trees or boughs. These objects were seemingly not venerated in themselves; they were merely symbols of the goddesses.

¹³Ucko, 1968, 419.

¹⁴Caskey, 1971, 804.

¹⁵Pullen, 10-19, 40-42: A survey of sites in the Southern Argolid seems to support the theory of an influx of peoples from the east, at least in the EH I period. The settlement pattern in the Final Neolithic was a period of experimental extension into new territories with a small number of short duration settlements in open ground along with cave occupation. EH I, however, was a time of expansion both in the quantity and in the size of settlements. Ceramic assemblages of this date also have numerous similarities with assemblages in Cyprus, indicating major influences from that island and possibly from further east.

¹⁶Burkert, 13; Caskey, 800, 804; Vermeule, 1964, 24-27.

Horns of consecration, stylized bull horns, are comparable to the real horns which were placed in the Great Goddess shrines of Çatal Hüyük and Haçılar¹⁷. In Minoan art they are shown on temple roof-lines, altars and on their own with objects placed between them, denoting the sanctity of buildings, objects and people.

The double axe is by far the most frequently portrayed motif in Minoan religious iconography. It was portrayed in all forms of art -- on pottery, on seals and rings, miniature axes of bronze or precious metals were deposited in sanctuaries, full-size bronze axes were set up for display and the double axe a common theme in the palace frescoes. The axe is generally accepted as a cultic implement, the sacrificial blade, that gained a symbolic meaning at a very early date. This symbol is first found in Crete in the Early Minoan period and probably came from the East. Eastern examples have been found in Upper Mesopotamia, dating to the fourth millennium B.C., and at Troy II, dating to the third millennium B.C.¹⁸. Axe-carrying gods existed in Asia Minor. These gods were generally weather gods, for example Zeus Stratios or Labranda in Caria and Teshub who carried the double axe and lightning bolt. Some attempts have been made to equate the Minoan axe with a great male sky god who would have been the counterpart of the great fertility goddess. Neither Nilsson nor Burkert agree with this theory because in Minoan religion double axes are never connected to a male figure, instead they are wielded by females, either goddesses or priestesses¹⁹. The double axe may have symbolized the power of the goddess in Minoan religion in general.

Trees are another common religious symbol. There are depicted standing in the open, or surrounded by a *temenos* wall. Worshippers are portrayed pulling at the tree's branches, saluting it or dancing near the trunk. A further indication of the tree's religious significance is its frequent association with horns of consecration. Goddesses are also frequently depicted near a tree indicating a close connection with this natural symbol of her power.

Archaeological examination of Minoan sanctuaries supports the conclusion suggested by the study of iconography that fertility deities were of paramount importance in

¹⁷Dietrich, 1974, 100; Mellaart, 1967, 181.

¹⁸Burkert, 38.

¹⁹Nilsson, 1950, 220-221; Burkert, 38.

cultic belief. Minoan sanctuary sites can be roughly divided into three categories: cave sanctuaries, peak sanctuaries, and Palace/House shrines. Cave sites are peculiar to Minoan Crete. Fifteen such sanctuaries have been securely identified and a further fifteen have been tentatively identified as cultic centres²⁰. The majority of these cave sites date from the Palace Periods (1900 to 1380 B.C.²¹). It is difficult to ascertain which deity was worshipped in these caves because they exhibit marked differences in their votive artifacts, ranging from only pottery at some caves to very martial deposits of swords and daggers at others²². The fact, however, that the worship was undertaken in isolated caves suggests that it was chthonic in nature and possibly also a fertility cult.

Peak sanctuaries are also characteristic of Bronze Age Crete. They are located on prominent mountain summits which were isolated but close to sheep and goat pasturage. They had a good view over the actual landscape that required protection and each site was situated about one hour's walk from a settlement²³. These

²⁰Burkert, 24.

²¹Biers, 24:

Old Palace Period (MM I and II) 1900-1700 B.C.

New Palace Period (MM III and LM I, II and IIIa) 1700 -1380 B.C.

²²Dawkins and Laistner, 1-34; Rutkowski, 62-63: Kamares Cave is situated below the southern summit of Mount Ida in a very isolated location. Snow blocks the cave, allowing access only in the late Spring and Summer months. The majority of the artifacts from this cave date from the MM to the LM III periods. Votives consisted entirely of a distinctive pottery, called Kamares Ware; no metal objects were dedicated here. Grain and animal bones were also uncovered. The cult practised in this cave was clearly seasonal, possibly encompassing both agrarian and a chthonic elements and including a festival that involved a communal feast.

Hogarth, 94-116: Psychro, or the Dictean Cave, is located on the slopes of Mount Dicte near Lyttos. This is a large, double cave with an upper and lower grotto. Artifacts indicate that the cave was in use as a cultic area as early as the MM period, but it reached its height in the LM period. The lower grotto contained bronze axes and swords which were hung in between stalactites and forced into crevices in the rock. Metal objects were also thrown into a pool of standing water situated in the lowest area of the second grotto, including a dozen bronze statuettes, engraved gems, rings, pins and blades. The upper grotto contained an altar of roughly squared stones approximately 1m high which had a thick deposit of black earth and ash with faunal remains of cattle, sheep, pigs and wild goats. Other finds include: fragments of an ox head *rhyton*, lamps, terracotta figurines, small bronzes of human and animals, a model bronze chariot, eighteen or more miniature double axes from stalactite niches, daggers, knives, razors, tweezers, needles, hairpins, and some gold objects.

Marinatos, S, 1935, 212-220: Arkalokhori Cave is a tripartite cave located to the south-west of Lyttos. The first two grottoes have been looted, but the third room contained finds similar to those from Psychro, including one hundred double axes, swords, knives and bronze ingots. The abundance of weaponry dedicated as votives suggests that Psychro and Arkalokhori Caves may have housed the cult of a deity who was concerned both with chthonic rites (fertility?) and with the more martial aspects of life.

²³Peatfield, 273-275. Minoan peak sanctuaries have a remarkably consistent topography; they are almost always situated within the altitude associated with the summer transhumance of sheep and goats and a short walk from a settlement.

sanctuaries are identified by accumulations of burned votive terracottas, both animal (especially cattle and sheep) and human (usually worshippers), by the presence of a large fire pit and, occasionally, by structural remains²⁴. The fire pits were used for large bonfires that, once lit, must have been visible for great distances. Terracotta figurine offerings were thrown into these fires. Fire pits were periodically cleaned and all ash and votives were swept into crevices or over the side of the mountain. Again it is not known what divinity was worshipped in these peak sanctuaries, but the large numbers of terracotta animal votives and their consistent topography suggest the cult may have been concerned, at least in part, with the fecundity and protection of animals, while the models of human limbs suggest a healing cult. The location, however, could also suggest a sky god, but Minoan iconography does not imply that such a deity existed.

House sanctuaries were small rooms located in palaces or villas. Every household had at least one shrine while palaces had multiple examples²⁵. The deity worshipped here has been called the 'Snake Goddess' after two faience statuettes found in the Palace Repositories at Knossos and other similar terracotta examples found in shrines.

²⁴Peatfield, 276-7: Most peak sanctuaries have no identifiable structures, but some contain walled-off *temenos* areas or modest structures, ranging from small elliptical enclosures to multi-roomed buildings. Mount Juktas provides a good example of a peak sanctuary. It is located south of Knossos on the summit of the mountain. It consists of shrine buildings surrounded by a roughly circular *temenos* wall which is preserved to a height of 5m. Pottery sherds, terracotta votives of male and female worshippers, and animals including oxen and goats along with replicas of separate human limbs have all been found in this sanctuary. A large number of full-size, clay bovine horns were also uncovered. The sanctuary was founded in the MM I period, but underwent drastic monumentalisation (construction of the cult structures) in MM III. It is possible that at that time, Juktas came under the increasing control of Knossian authority and it was purposely developed into the most important peak site in Crete, possibly with resident cult functionaries. For further reading see: Rutkowski, B., 1986, The Cult Places of the Aegean; articles by Paul Faure in BCH 80 (1956), 82 (1958), 84 (1960), 86 (1962), 89 (1965), 91 (1967), 93 (1969), 96 (1972), 102 (1978). Mt. Juktas excavation reports: A. Karetsou, Praktika (1974), 228-39; (1976) 408-18; (1977) 419-420; (1978) 232-258; (1979) 280-281.

²⁵Marinatos, N., 1993, s.v. Chapter Four; Nilsson, 1950, 77-116, 236-45; Rutkowski 21-46, 119-153; Evans, PM I, 405f. House Shrines are traditionally subdivided into three categories based on architectural features: lustral basins, pillar crypts and bench sanctuaries. These differences may indicate distinct deities were worshipped in each, or that different rituals were celebrated to the same deity(ies). Lustral sanctuaries consist of small sunken areas approached by a staircase. These may have had a ceremonial function or simply have been areas for daily bathing. Pillar Crypts are rooms that contained a central pillar usually marked with 'mason's marks'. The sanctity of these rooms is debated, s.v. Nilsson, 1950, 248; Rutkowski, 37. Bench sanctuaries are generally single small, rectangular rooms lined with benches that held a variety of offerings including tripod offering tables, kernoi, and 'snake tubes' (clay tubes, often with no bottom, which have plastic snakes curling up the sides in place of handles) and most importantly terracotta or faience bell-shaped female statuettes that may be actual cult statues.

Nilsson and Burkert believe that this deity has no chthonic connections despite the presence of her snakes; she was instead a protector of the home²⁶.

Goddesses were not always portrayed or worshipped in a similar manner. This causes confusion and problems in determining how many goddesses the Minoans actually perceived. A ring from the acropolis of Mycenae²⁷ and a seal stone from Knossos²⁸ demonstrate two very different representations of a goddess. The ring shows a goddess sitting under a tree receiving worshippers. She is dressed in the traditional flounced skirt with an open bodice, has a flower in her hair and carries three poppy heads in her right hand. The approaching worshippers also wear flowers in their hair and two of them carry flower offerings. The seal from Knossos, however, shows a wild mountain landscape. A goddess, in traditional dress, stands on top of a mountain and is flanked by two lions. She seems to be handing a spear to a male worshipper who in turn salutes the goddess by placing his hands on his head. A cult building with horns of consecration is located on the left.

Different cult practices are indicated by the diverse types of sanctuaries and by the varied votive artifacts found in them. Artifacts range from fine cultic pottery to war- and hunt-related deposits to figurative statuettes. Disparate artistic representations and manifold sanctuary types imply that there was a plurality of goddesses in the Minoan pantheon²⁹. Three distinct deities can conceivably be recognised:

1. A fertility goddess responsible for the fecundity of plants and perhaps mankind, represented in art by her affinity with trees and flowers.
2. The Potnia Theron or Mistress of Animals, perhaps responsible for the fertility of animals, represented on seal stones and rings by her association with wild places and her control over leopards and wild goats.
3. The Snake Goddess, the house guardian, who was never portrayed on gems or rings, but was modeled in faience and clay with her snakes and sometimes birds.

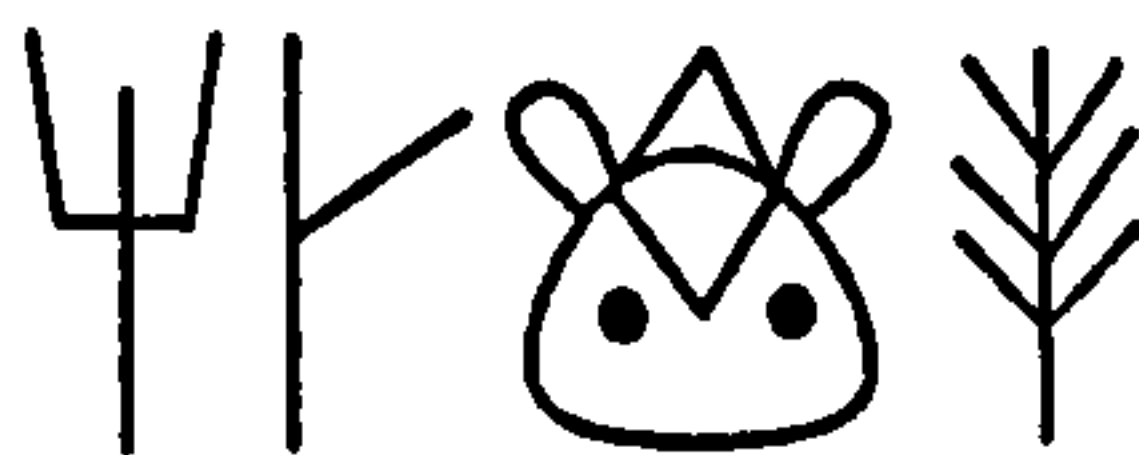
²⁶Burkert, 30; Nilsson, 1950, 323-329.

²⁷Marinatos, N., 1993, 159, fig. 143.

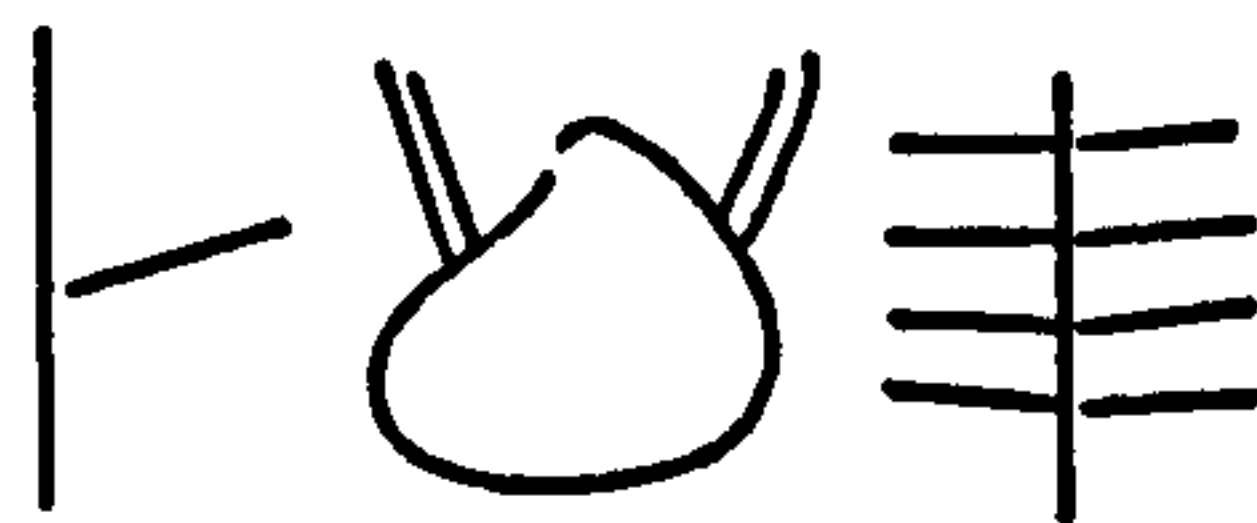
²⁸Nilsson, 1950, 353, fig. 162.

²⁹Burkert, 41; Nilsson, 1950, 389ff.

The precise identification of any one of these various goddesses has, until recently, been impossible because Minoan script, Linear A, has not been adequately deciphered³⁰. Inscriptions on three votive offerings, however, may have now provided the first correct personal name for a Minoan deity. In 1956, two identical inscriptions were found on miniature double-axes in the Arkalokhori Cave in Crete³¹ and in 1993, a steatite vase with a similar inscription was found in a MM III / LM I peak sanctuary on Kythera³². The axes each carry an inscription consisting of four signs:



while the vase inscription consists of the following three signs:



Pope first suggested in 1956 that if these signs were transliterated into Linear B, the resulting word would be AB 28-01-80-04 - “to/for DA-MA-TE” or “to/for Demeter”³³. The stone vase from Kythera supports Pope’s interpretation because it has a basically similar inscription except that it lacks the first sign (AB 28), proving that the other three signs created an autonomous group. This translation is thought to be plausible because it has long been suspected that this deity was of an early Minoan origin - linguists query a Greek origin for the name ‘Demeter’³⁴- but due to a lack of overwhelming evidence, scholars have generally been content with a Greek derivation.

³⁰Linear A script first appeared in the MM II period (1,900 to 1,700 B.C.).

³¹See n. 22. The innermost room of Arkalokhori Cave contained hundreds of miniature bronze double axes, twenty-five examples in gold and six to seven in silver.

Pope, 134-135. Axe 3: (AR Zf 1) a miniature gold double-axe and Axe 4: (AR Zf 2) a fragment of a miniature silver double-axe. Both axes carry identical inscriptions on the same part of the axe blade.

³²Sakellarakis and Olivier, 1994, 343f: Vase 5688 located in the museum of Piraeus, inscription number KY Za 2.

The steatite vase was found on Terrace 6, south of the summit near the Chapel of St. George of the Mountain. The sanctuary is located approximately 350m above sea level and about 4 km from the Minoan colony of Kastri. Other votive offerings were also found in the excavations, including: bronze worshipers (mostly males but some females), bronze representations of body parts, bronze knife blades and double-axes, terracotta figurines of humans and animals, clay horns of consecration and stone vases.

³³Pope, 134-5.

³⁴Sakellarakis and Olivier, 350.

If Demeter was a member of the Minoan pantheon, she may have been a preeminent deity. This is suggested by the fact that two of the three inscribed votive objects are double-axes, the most prevalent religious symbol in Minoan cult, and by the differing archaeological provenience of these offerings - the axes were found in a cave while the steatite bowl was found in a peak sanctuary, two of the main Minoan shrine types. It is, however, possible that the Minoans did not restrict their icons to specific deities and the axe represented the general power, mystery and presence of the divine. Sanctuaries too, may not have been limited to single deities, so that offerings to Demeter in different types of sites may not indicate that the goddess ruled supreme in each setting.

Was this deity then the same Demeter as the one worshipped by later Greeks? There are some similarities - like the Hellenic goddess, the offerings dedicated in a cave sanctuary seem to indicate that Minoan Demeter was chthonic while the peak site on Kythera and artistic representations of the deities that were worshipped in such locations attest to a belief that the goddess was also concerned with nature and fertility. The similarities, however, may end here; Minoan Demeter was seemingly worshipped in wild mountainous landscapes, presented with axes and possibly portrayed with untamed animals (ibex, lions), definitely not the iconography familiar from later Greek times when Demeter was associated with grain, cultivated lands, civilisation, laws, and domestic animals. If Demeter did originate in Minoan times, she seemingly underwent a great metamorphosis by the time she again appeared in Greek myth in the eighth century B.C. The reasons and manner of the changes are unclear; Minoan Demeter may have been eclipsed in the Mycenaean period, or she may have syncretised with a new Indo-European goddess or even goddesses.

The origins of the Minoan goddesses are completely unknown, but various aspects of them (the importance of bulls and leopard and their chthonic natures) hint at their distant relationship to the eastern Great Goddess who is so clearly represented at Neolithic Çatal Hüyük and Haçılar.

Mycenaean Religion: The Indo-European Heritage

The study of Mycenaean religion is controversial. Not all believe that the Mycenaeans had their own religion, separate from the Minoans³⁵. It is conceivable that Mycenaean cult was similar to that of the Minoans because of two centuries of strong Minoan influence on the mainland, but it is unlikely to have been identical. Vermeule believes that Minoan religion could not have had a serious influence on the mainland before the fifteenth century when Mycenaeans settled in Knossos³⁶. She maintains that it is difficult to believe that Mycenaeans returning from Knossos were able to proselytize so successfully that a uniform Minoan-Mycenaean religion emerged. The Mycenaeans also had a different cultural heritage derived from the Indo-Europeans, which must have influenced their religious beliefs. Indo-European cult, therefore, should be examined before its later Mycenaean relative can be properly understood.

Indo-European Cult

Linguistic evidence postulates an Indo-European people existing in the fourth and third millenniums B.C., but their place of origin is unknown and their migratory paths are untraceable. An eastern origin is theorized, based on the close connections Greece had with the east since the Neolithic period, but a northern origin has not been disqualified. Colin Renfrew, on the other hand, presents a differing theory of the spread of Indo-European people and culture. He postulates that the Indo-Europeans did not *enter* Greece, instead they were *already there*. Farming reached Greece from Anatolia sometime before 6500 B.C., brought by people who already spoke an early form of Indo-European. They gradually spread across the available landscape in slow waves, not moving in large and organized migrations. During this process, early Indo-European in turn slowly developed into the diverse languages of the Indo-European family as these farmers spread in the same, slow fashion from Greece throughout Europe³⁷.

³⁵See: Dietrich, B.C., 1974, Origins of Greek Religion and 1986, Tradition in Greek Religion.

³⁶Vermeule, 282.

³⁷For the complete discussion of this hypothesis see: Renfrew, Colin, 1987. Archaeology and Language, The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins. London: Jonathan Cape.

No Indo-European sanctuaries or graves have been identified and so all cultic information is gleaned from comparing mutual elements of language and beliefs from cultures derived from a common Indo-European heritage. Little can be said with certainty, but one assured feature is their belief in Zeus as a sky god. He was the most powerful deity, the king of the gods, linked with the sky, light and storms, who resided on the highest mountain. This god survived into historical Greek times almost unchanged. The eleven other classical Olympians cannot be traced to individual deities, although the names 'Hera', 'Poseidon', and 'Ares' are formed from Indo-European roots. What in the Greek period are lesser deities, for example Helios and Eos-Aurora, also display clear Indo-European etymology³⁸.

The coming of the Indo-Europeans has often been understood as a time when two diametrically opposed religions met and clashed; the male Indo-European sky cult eventually enveloping and subordinating the female Minoan chthonic fertility cult. Later Greek religion is often construed as a combination of these two belief systems. This explanation is, however, too simplistic; Indo-European cult had sky deities, but it is unlikely that their beliefs did not incorporate chthonic fertility deities as well.

The Mycenaeans

Evidence for Mycenaean religion is obtained from artistic representations of deities and cult activities, archaeological remains and, for the first time in the Aegean, from written sources. As in the Minoan civilization, rings and seal stones provide the majority of the information. Interestingly, Mycenaean religious iconography is the same as Minoan, even to the point where the gold rings from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae are used to interpret Minoan cult. They portray the already familiar outdoor shrines, the importance of trees, worshippers, birds and the double axe. Other popular themes include the epiphany of the goddess, processions of votaries with gifts, and the Mistress of Animals. Again as is common in Crete, almost all divinities portrayed are female, but male gods do appear occasionally. This identical iconography presupposes that the Mycenaeans were familiar with the Minoan fertility goddess and that they

³⁸Burkert, 17.

assimilated her cult, worshipping her in much the same fashion as in Crete, or that the artists were Minoan³⁹.

Actual cult ritual was practised in the central throne rooms or *megaron* of the palaces. This room had a large, raised circular hearth that had no counterpart in Minoan Crete. Sacrifices and the cooking of the resulting meat appear to have been a central theme of rituals which took place there. The cooking, at least, took place on this large hearth while the actual blood-letting was probably undertaken on portable stone altars⁴⁰. These rituals must have been very important because they were carried out in the main hall of the palace complex, presumably officiated by the king and other high-ranking religious dignitaries. Not all large-scale worship, however, centred on the *megaron* hearth. Large specialized and distinct shrines have been found at Mycenae and smaller examples are known from Tiryns, Phylakopi and Asine⁴¹. It is not known if these shrines were restricted to the religious officials of the palace or if a larger and more general population had access to them. The residing deities are also not known, but frescoes at Mycenae of an helmeted goddess and another of a female figure holding an ear of grain suggest that both military or hunting and fertility concerns were addressed in these cultic centres.

Linear B tablets from Knossos, Pylos and Chania give further insights into Mycenaean religion. These tablets are not religious texts but bureaucratic lists or inventories. They cite many deities by name, inventorying their offerings and even listing their sanctuaries. Immediately noticeable are names that survived into the later Greek period, including di-we (Zeus), e-ra (Hera) and po-se-da-o (Poseidon), while other familiar Greek names, Artemis, Hermes and Dionysos are tentatively reconstructed.

³⁹Vermeule, 290.

⁴⁰Ashes and bone fragments were found near the central hearth at Pylos and a portable altar was found in the megaron porch at Mycenae.

⁴¹Burkert, 32. Renfrew, 1985, 361f. Albers, 22-47, 63-90, 104-110, 112-115. Mycenae, for example, has a cult complex consisting of Building Gamma, the House of the Idols and the House of Frescoes forming a series of rooms and courtyards which contained elaborate ritual paraphernalia. Finds included altars filled with ash and calcined bone, frescoes of helmeted goddesses and a priestess or goddess holding an ear of grain, various clay statues measuring up to 60cm tall of both males and females which were hollowed out in the centre and may have been carried on poles in ritual processions. A processional way ran from the palace to the cult area. Tiryns has cult rooms in the lower citadel, consisting of a single rooms with cult vessels, and statuettes similar to those found in the House of the Idols at Mycenae. Phylakopi has the West and East Shrines. Asine has a cult room in the lower town and Malthi has a building with a central column and a large semi-circular hearth

Some scholars suggest that the deity a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja (Potnia Atana) may be equated with Athena⁴². Other divinities on the tablets include:

- di-wi-ja (Diwia) possibly a female counterpart of Zeus. This goddess may have survived into the later Greek period as Dione, found at Dodona⁴³
- pi-pi-tu-na (Pipituna) possibly classical Diktynna, a Cretan hunting goddess⁴⁴
- e-re-u-ti-ja (Eleuthia) the goddess of childbirth and fertility later known as Eileithyia⁴⁵
- me-na (Mena), the moon, possibly the later Greek Selene⁴⁶
- e-ri-nu (Erinu) sometimes identified as a possible epithet for Demeter who was called 'Demeter Erinys'⁴⁷
- ma-te-re te-i-ja (Mater Theia) translated as 'Mother of the Gods' or 'Divine Mother' a goddess who continued into the historical period⁴⁸
- i-pe-me-de-ja (Iphimedeia) who persisted into Homeric times but as a heroine
- wa-na-so-i (Wanasoi), the Queens, and wa-na-ka (Wanax), the Lord or King are general terms which would have identified specific divinities to the Mycenaeans⁴⁹
- ma-na-sa (Manasa) and do-po-ta (Dopota) are unknown in later Greece⁵⁰.

Linear A texts (discussed above) suggest that a goddess named Demeter was already a member of the Minoan pantheon, but it not certain if she was worshipped in the later Mycenaean period. Pylos tablet En 609 lists 'da-ma-te' which has been occasionally and very tentatively identified as Demeter, but the context of the word in the tablet made the translation unlikely. The tablet reads, "Pa-ki-ja-ni-ja / to-sa / da-ma-te / DA 40", possibly translating as "District of Pakijana, number of propertied families: 40",

with burned bone, ash, sherds of a large vessel, a stone axe and a hammer stone, and possibly an idol.

⁴²Gerard-Rousseau, 256-259. Knossos tablet: V 52.

⁴³Pylos tablets: Tn 316, Cn 1287.6, An 607.5.

⁴⁴Knossos tablet: Fp 13.

⁴⁵Knossos tablets: Gg 705, Od 714 - 716.

⁴⁶Knossos tablets: Fs 3, E 842, Gg 717.

⁴⁷Knossos tablets: Fp 1.8, Fp 390, V 52.

⁴⁸Pylos tablet: Fr 1202.

⁴⁹Wanasoi: Pylos tablets: Fr 12, 19, 22, 27, 28, 34, 35. Wanax: Knossos tablets: Vc 73, Vd 136. Pylos tablets: Na 334, Na 1356 and Ta 711.

⁵⁰Manasa: Pylos Tn 316.4. Dopota: Pylos Tn 316.5.

with the word 'damate' referring to the family groups⁵¹. Other Linear B references, however, suggest that Demeter was indeed worshipped: palace documents from Mycenae, Pylos, Knossos and, most importantly, from Thebes refer to a goddess called 'Potnia'. Thebes document Of 36 lists an allotment of wool for "po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko-de" translating as "to the house (temple / sanctuary) of Po-ti-ni-ja"⁵². This Theban reference is important because of a sanctuary located nearby the Greek town called 'Potniai' which was described by Pausanias:

"Across the Asopus, about 10 stades distant from the city [Thebes], are the ruins of Potniai, in which is a grove of Demeter and the Maid. The images at the river that flows past Potniai...they name the goddesses. At an appointed time they perform their accustomed ritual, one part of which is to let loose young pigs into what are called 'the halls' [megara]. At the same time next year these pigs appear, they say, in Dodona. This story others can believe if they wish."⁵³

Schachter⁵⁴ proposes that the epithet 'Potniai' translates as 'the goddesses' and the fact that the site near Thebes was called this suggests the sanctuary was old, possibly retaining the cult of Demeter and Kore which originated in the Mycenaean period. A Mycenaean origin could also explain why in Thebes Demeter later played an almost unique strong political role, where she was called the "possessor of Thebes" and "the protector of the land"⁵⁵. The problem with this interpretation, however, is that many Mycenaean goddesses carried the prefix 'Potnia', suggesting that it was a general term meaning 'Lady' or 'Mistress'. This term was always used in Linear B texts in the singular and it often had specific qualifications, for example po-ti-ni-ja / i-qe-ja (Potnia Iqeja) the Mistress of Horses⁵⁶, da-pu₂-ri-to-jo / po-ti-ni-ja (Potnia Dapu₂ritojo) the Mistress of the Labyrinth⁵⁷ and, as mentioned, Potnia Atana, the Mistress of Atana.

⁵¹Gérard-Rousseau, 53-54. The word 'da-ma-te' may still have had a tentative connection to Demeter if it did not refer to property in general, but indicated families who owned agricultural lands.

⁵²Chadwick and Spyropoulos, 89.

⁵³Pausanias ix 8, 1. This passage is, unfortunately, poorly preserved.

⁵⁴Schachter, 159 and n.4.

⁵⁵Euripides, *Phoin.* 683-8;

⁵⁶Pylos tablet: An 1281.

⁵⁷Knossos tablet: Gg 702.

Mycenaean religion was polytheistic with both Indo-European and Minoan characteristics. Minoan iconography was used to represent deities and ritualistic scenes, but Mycenaean beliefs seems to have been fundamentally different in the importance placed on war-like scenes, large sacrifices and burning of the victims. Large numbers of goddesses were worshipped, seemingly more numerous than gods, but the Linear B tablets clearly indicate that gods did not have the low status suggested by their virtual absence in Mycenaean art.

The Dark Ages and the Problem of Continuity

The Mycenaean empire came under attack by unknown assailants c 1200 B.C. at the end of the Late Helladic IIIb period. The citadels, centres of Mycenaean authority, were destroyed and a large number of people fled the mainland for Asia Minor, Cyprus and Crete. A long period of decline lasting approximately a century followed. During this time there was an end to overall palace authority, the loss of literacy, of representational art, of large scale architecture and the break down of the Mycenaean *koine*. The invaders, however, did not reach Attica, the Aegean islands and coastal Asia Minor and so many individual pockets of Mycenaean may have survived the invasions. These peoples retained the knowledge of local, popular beliefs and of state-wide cults. They must have continued to practise their beliefs despite the collapse of their society; religion is one of the human institutions most resistant to change.

The following Dark Ages, the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C., was a time of depopulation and isolation⁵⁸. Some communities were able to maintain outside contact if they were located near the sea, retaining trade mainly with Cyprus. Iron-working technology actually reached Attica, the Argolid, Thessaly, South-West Asia Minor, Naxos and Crete in the first half of the eleventh century B.C. This technology came to Greece from the east, probably by way of Cyprus. The first waves of Greek migrations across the Aegean to coastal Asia Minor also began during the Dark Ages. Aeolians, traditionally thought to be the first migrants, settled on the north-west coast of modern Turkey possibly as early as c 1100 B.C. while slightly later, c 1000 B.C.,

⁵⁸Snodgrass, 363-364; The total population of Greece fell to possibly two-thirds that of the Late Helladic IIIb period.

Ionic people settled further south, along the central area of Turkey's west coast⁵⁹. These migrations were not reinforcements of Greek settlements already in Asia Minor, but were new foundations, though they were often situated on settlements originally founded by Minoan or Mycenaean precursors⁶⁰. These settlers took their technologies and way of life. Herodotus states that it was at this time the Greeks took the cult of Demeter to Asia Minor⁶¹.

Recovery from the problems of the Dark Ages took place in the late tenth and ninth centuries B.C. Contact with Cyprus and the east provided much of the impetus for this reformation. Greece's population grew and its trade base expanded which resulted in a reduction of metal shortages, increased material wealth and advances in technology, architecture and art⁶². Eastward trade intensified during the eighth century B.C. and a second wave of Greek migrants founded colonies, this time in the west, in Italy and in Sicily. The eighth century also saw the return of literacy with the development of written epic poetry. This poetry indicates that religion was of prime importance in daily life and politics. In Homer, the Olympian pantheon (and other minor deities) were well conceived, all with strong personalities. It is also a time when archaeological evidence indicates that complex cults and great temples and sanctuaries had started to develop.

The problem with Greek religion is attempting to trace its development and continuity from the Mycenaean period through the Dark Ages. Continuity of some cult is shown by the survival of the names of deities. Zeus, Hera, Poseidon and Ares are all mentioned in the Linear B tablets and they appear again in Homer and Hesiod. Not all the deities known in Linear B survived, some were remembered later as heroes and others were forgotten completely. Festivals are another indicator of some religious continuity. The practice of naming months after cultic celebrations appears in Linear B texts and this custom was continued into later Greek times. Agreement between

⁵⁹Boardman, 1964, 45; Cook, J.M., 1962, 23; Snodgrass, 373.

⁶⁰Bammer, 1993, 138f. Bammer may have found evidence of cult continuation at the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos.

⁶¹Herodotus ix 97 records the belief that Demeter's cult was active before the migrations at the end of the Bronze Age: "With this purpose in mind they set sail, and after passing the temple of the Eumenides arrived at Gaeson and Scolopoeis in Mycale, where there is a temple sacred to Demeter of Eleusis; the temple was built by Philistus, the son of Pasicles, when he accompanied Neleus, the son of Codrus, on the expedition for the founding of Miletus."

⁶²Snodgrass, 402.

certain festival months of the Athenians and Ionians and between several Aeolian and Dorian month names reveal that these groups had festivals in common before they became separated by the early migrations to coastal Asia Minor in the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. The wide distribution of major festivals also suggests they are very old, especially those of Artemis, Poseidon, Demeter and Apollo. The Artemisia and festivals of Apollo had special days set aside in *all poleis* calendars and the Thesmophoria was celebrated among the Dorians, Ionians, Arcadians, Aeolian and north-western Greeks. These widely distributed festivals, like the month names, are likely to have been instituted before the depopulation and fragmentation of society in the Dark Ages⁶³.

It is not known how similar the eighth century deities and festivals were to their Mycenaean progenitors. Mycenaean cults, naturally, did not survive unchanged into historical times. These cults would must have been altered by time and by external influences, but there may have been strong Mycenaean elements in the religious beliefs of later Greece. It is, however, very difficult to isolate Mycenaean elements in Greek religions because there is uncertainty as to how rituals were transmitted⁶⁴. Did the Mycenaean elements survive through constant usage, or was it a memory that was consciously re-established, possibly under the influence of Homeric oral myth?

Archaeological examination of sanctuary sites has not simplified the question of continuity, indeed sanctuaries have proven to be a very unreliable source for tracing cultic history. Various sanctuaries have been proffered as locations where cult worship continued through from the Bronze Age, including Demeter's sanctuary at Eleusis⁶⁵. Many sanctuaries, including Eleusis, have a gap in the archaeological record. This gap causes a problem; do sites with evidence of cult from the Late Helladic period and then again from the Early Protogeometric period prove continuity of *active* worship, or continuity of a memory of the sacredness of the area and the re-foundation of cult on that same locale? Mycenaean remains were awe-inspiring to the later Greeks, perceived as the relics of an heroic past. The eighth century Greeks tended to build sacred sites on top of Mycenaean secular architecture as frequently as

⁶³Burkert, 48; Dietrich, 1986, 51.

⁶⁴Dietrich, 1986, 42.

⁶⁵See below: Demeter

on old sanctuaries and so the continuity of site use does not guarantee the continuity of the cult or deity worshipped.

Non-Greek influences were also important in the shaping of later Greek religion. In the Late Helladic IIIc period, the Mycenaeans maintained contacts with the East, especially with the Hittite and North Syrian areas, using Cyprus as the *rendezvous*. The familiar later Greek triad of temple, cult image and altar for burnt offerings had long been established in eastern cult as had the combination of food offering, libation and burning part of the sacrificial victim. Eastern influences can also be seen in the Greek pantheon, not just in ritual. For example, Apollo was a master of divination, especially hepatoscopy, which unquestionably came to the Greeks from Mesopotamia through connections with Anatolia, Syria and Cyprus⁶⁶. Greek religion of the eighth century, therefore, consisted of a variety of survivals of varying age, including elements from Neolithic, Minoan, Mycenaean and Eastern cults.

Demeter

Demeter is an enigmatic deity who is mentioned in Homer and Hesiod, and appears in the archaeological record at the same time⁶⁷. She is one of the twelve Olympian deities, the daughter of Rhea and Kronos and the sister of Zeus. She was also the mother of two children, Kore-Persephone and Plutos, the personification of wealth⁶⁸. The Hymn to Demeter preserves the fullest account of her myth⁶⁹.

⁶⁶Burkert, 52.

⁶⁷Homer, Iliad 5, 499-502: "when fair-haired Demeter amid the driving blasts of wind separates the grain from the chaff, and the heaps of chaff grow white.

Homer, Odyssey 5, 125-127: "and as when fair-haired Demeter, yielding to her passion, was united in love with Iasion, in a thrice-ploughed fallow field."

Hesiod, The Theogony xii, 913ff, "Demeter, who feeds all, came to the bed of Zeus, and bore white-armed Persephone, whom Aidoneus stole away from her, but Zeus the counsellor approved the match."

The Theogony xii, 950ff, "Demeter, the great goddess, united in sweet love with the hero Iasion, in a fallow field ploughed three times, in the fertile land of Crete; she bore Plutus [Wealth], a good spirit who goes everywhere on land and on the sea's broad back, enriching and giving great prosperity to whomever he meets and joins hands with."

Works and Days 299-301, "work till Hunger is your enemy and till Demeter, awesome, garlanded, becomes your friend and fills your granary".

Works and Days 465-466, "make prayers to ...Holy Demeter, for her sacred grain."
Coldstream, 1979, 332.

⁶⁸Hesiod, Theogony 912-914: "αὐτὰρ ὁ Δῆμιτρος πολυφόρβης ἐς λέχος ἦλθεν ἥ τέκε Περσεφόνην λευκώλενον, ἣν Ἀιδωνεύς ἥρπασεν ἥς παρὰ μητρός, ἔδωκε δὲ μητίετα Ζεὺς." (Trans: Demeter, who

According to the hymn, Kore, Demeter's daughter, was playing in the fields of Nysa when she spied a particularly beautiful narcissus flower. She picked the flower and suddenly Hades sprang up from the earth in a golden chariot and abducted the girl. This abduction was done with the permission of Zeus. Demeter, not knowing what happened to her daughter, wandered over the earth for nine days searching for her, finally learning the truth of the affair from Hecate and Helios. The goddess was so angry and heartbroken that she refused to join the other gods on Olympus, instead she disguised herself and wandered through the Greek countryside⁷⁰.

Demeter eventually went to Eleusis. She was sitting next to a well, disguised as an old woman, when the daughters of Keleus, the ruler of the town, came to fetch water. The daughters took the goddess to their mother Metaneira who was looking for a nurse for Demophoön, her new born son. Demeter, still retaining the form of the old woman, entered Keleus' house and there sat in her dark veil, huddled in sorrow, on a low stool covered with a fleece. She refused wine, drinking instead a mixture of meal and water flavoured with mint⁷¹. The goddess became Demophoön's nurse, anointing him with ambrosia by day and hiding him in the fire by night so that he would become immortal. Metaneira, however, spied upon Demeter and cried out in horror when her son was placed in the fire. The goddess became angry and revealed her identity and demanded the Eleusinians build a temple and altar on the hill by the Kallichoros well.

The Eleusinians constructed the temple as commanded and then Demeter withdrew into it, mourning for her daughter. A great famine then struck throughout the Greek

feeds all, came to the bed of Zeus, and bore white-armed Persephone, whom Aidoneus stole away from her, but Zeus the counsellor approved the match.").

Theogony: 969-974, "Δημήτηρ μὲν Πλοῦτον ἐγένετο δῖα θεάων, Ἰασίῳ ἥρωι μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῇ φιλότῃ νειῶ ἐνι τριπόλῳ, Κρήτης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ, ἐσθλόν, ὃς εἶσ' ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης πᾶσαν τῷ δὲ τυχόντι καὶ οὐ κ' ἐς χεῖρας ἵκηται, τὸν δὲ ἀφνειὸν ἔθηκε, πολλὸν δὲ οἱ ὥπασεν ὄλβον." (Trans: Demeter, the great goddess, united in sweet love with the hero Iasion, in a fallow field ploughed three times, in the fertile land of Crete; she bore Plutus [Wealth], a good spirit who goes everywhere on land and on the sea's broad back, enriching and giving great prosperity to whomever he meets and joins hands with.)

⁶⁹Richardson dates the hymn between c 650 B.C. and 550 B.C. See Richardson, N.J., 1974. The Homeric Hymn to Demeter. Oxford: Clarendon Press, for a detailed analysis of the myth.

⁷⁰The foundation of many sanctuaries is accredited to these two periods when Demeter was wandering in search of her daughter. Sanctuaries and festivals were supposedly founded by the goddess herself in return for shelter and aid in her quest.

⁷¹Many of the details of ritual given in the hymn are thought to have formed part of the Mysteries that were enacted at Eleusis. The drinking of the mint flavoured drink, the *κυκεών*, is thought to have been an important ritual act whereby initiates into the Mysteries could share Demeter's grief over the loss of her daughter.

world because Demeter refused, in her grief, to let the grain grow. People were in danger of starvation and they were no longer giving sacrifices to Zeus. Zeus, concerned by this sudden cessation of his sacrifices, sent down all the gods of Olympus, one at a time, to placate Demeter. She, however, vowed not to let crops grow until her daughter was returned. Zeus finally relented and sent Hermes to fetch Kore from the Underworld. Kore returned to her mother, but Hades had secretly slipped a pomegranate seed into Kore's mouth. This food required the girl to live in the Underworld for one-third of the year, returning to the upper world every year in the Spring. Demeter was appeased by Kore's return and allowed the earth to be fertile again, starting with the Rharian plain near Eleusis. The goddess then taught her Mysteries to the rulers Triptolemos, Diocles, Eumolpos and Keleus before returning with Kore to Olympos.

Demeter was clearly already venerable by the eighth century when she emerged into the historical record with a complex cult and mythology. The problem is tracing her early origins; Demeter seems to have been worshipped in the Minoan period and she may have survived into the Mycenaean age. The later, strong, pan-hellenic status of her cult, and its early transportation to coastal Asia Minor suggest she was widely worshipped by at least the Late Helladic period, before the breakdown of the Mycenaean *koine* and before the migrations of the Greeks to Asia Minor in the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C.⁷²

Early remains at Eleusis are used as evidence to support the theory that Demeter was known in Mycenaean times and her worship continued uninterrupted through the Dark Ages. The remains in question consist of a Late Helladic II building known as Megaron B which is located beneath the sixth century Telesterion. This structure is composed of a rectangular room with an attached vestibule *in antis*. Three rooms, B1, B2 and B3, were added in the Late Helladic IIIb period to the north side of the megaron. The preserved ground plan suggests that the only entrance to these new rooms was by means of stairs located in the original vestibule of Megaron B. One of the most important features of this structure is that even from its earliest phase it may have stood alone, isolated from the rest of the Late Helladic buildings by a thick *peribolos* wall. The megaron and area was damaged by later building campaigns, and

so no evidence remains as to their uses⁷³, but the building's location suggests that it had a different function from other structures. Mylonas claims that it was a cultic area, dedicated to Demeter, and that Megaron B was the original temple mentioned in the Homeric Hymn⁷⁴. He also states that a fifteenth century B.C. date for Megaron B matches Greek mythical tradition for the start of Demeter's worship at Eleusis⁷⁵.

Pascal Darcque does not, however, agree with Mylonas' interpretation⁷⁶. He argues that the preserved sections of the so-called *peribolos* wall originally connected and formed additional rooms or even structures; Megaron B and other Mycenaean walls in the area were instead part of a single structure, covering approximately 30m by 30m. These walls may have originally formed part of a wealthy residence or a palace complex and have no connection whatsoever with the later Demeter cult. Another interpretation of these early remains is put forward by A. Mazarakis Ainian who argues that Megaron B and Rooms B1 to B3 are indeed the remains of a ruler's dwelling, perhaps even that of the Eumolpid family, one of the leading families of Eleusis⁷⁷. Mazarakis Ainian suggests that in the early stages of Demeter's worship the cult belonged to a private family, practised, or at least controlled, only by the Eumolpids. Megaron B and B1-B3, therefore, had a dual purpose as *Eumolpidae* residence and as a cult place sacred to Demeter where festivals were held for the privileged few. The power of the family then grew until it was the strongest *genos* in Eleusis and as it grew, so did their cult of Demeter. The cult gradually spread from the family to all of Eleusis and finally over time became panhellenic. The family dwelling *cum* cult area eventually became exclusively a cult place and the centre of Demeter worship.

There are, nevertheless, problems with the continuity of Demeter's worship at Eleusis because there is a three hundred year gap in the archaeological record; there are no

⁷²See note 61.

⁷³See 'Eleusis' in the Site Catalogue for more detailed information about the sanctuary.

⁷⁴Hymn to Demeter 27-272, 301, 319.

⁷⁵Mylonas, 14.

Apollodorus iii, 191 states that "when Erichthonios died and was buried in the sanctuary of Athens, Pandion became King, in whose time Demeter and Dionysos came to Attika; however Demeter was received by Keleos at Eleusis, and Dionysos by Ikarios". Jacoby, 6: The reign of Pandion, the son of Erichthonios, is dated by the Parian Chronicle line 21 to c 1462 to 1423 B.C.

⁷⁶Darcque, 593 ff, especially 601.

⁷⁷Mazarakis Ainian, 1987, 346f.

remains dating between the end of the Late Helladic III period and the eighth century B.C. when a series of votive offerings begin⁷⁸. There is also a hiatus in the architectural record on the site of Megaron B stretching again from the end of the Late Helladic III period until the sixth century B.C. when Solon's Telesterion was constructed. Also, if Megaron B is accepted as a sanctuary, there is no evidence to indicate that Demeter was the deity worshipped there in the Mycenaean period⁷⁹. Demeter's origins are obscure and they cannot be traced to any one place or time period. Her cult contains elements from the Neolithic period, from the Bronze Age and from the Dark Ages. Each successive culture, the Minoans, the Mycenaeans and the later Greeks adopted, blended and transformed the various elements of Demeter's diverse origins and traits to suit their conditions, their needs and their way of life.

⁷⁸Coldstream, 1977, 332.

⁷⁹Dietrich, 1974, 142.

CHAPTER TWO

DEMETER IN MYTILENE, LESBOS

The town of Mytilene is located on the island of Lesbos. This large island lies in the northeast Aegean close to the coast of Asia Minor. It is the third largest of the Aegean islands with a maximum length of 70km and a maximum width of 45km¹. Lesbos is a mountainous island, roughly oval in shape and pierced deeply by two gulfs. The larger Gulf of Kalloni opens to the south, while the smaller Gulf of Yera faces south-east.

Ancient Mytilene, the largest of five independent cities on Lesbos², is situated on the south-east coast of the island, facing Asia Minor. Strabo provides a short description of the ancient town:

ἔχει δ' ἡ Μιτυλήνη λιμένας δύο, ὧν ὁ νότιος κλειστός
τριηρικὸς ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα, ὁ δὲ βόρειος μέγας καὶ
βαθύς, χώματι σκεπαζόμενος· πρόκειται δ' ἀμφοῖν νησίον,
μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἔχον αὐτόθι συνοικούμενον·
κατεσκευάσται δὲ τοῖς πᾶσι καλῶς.”³

Strabo's ‘small island’ is the town's acropolis, which today is known as the ‘Kastro’. In antiquity, a narrow channel separated the island from the mainland and the two harbours mentioned by Strabo were located at either end of the channel. These harbours were the natural result of the island's proximity to Lesbos' shore. Several bridges afforded access to the acropolis from the mainland⁴.

¹Barber, 1988, 714. Lesbos comes after Crete and then Euboea in size.

²Herodotos i 148. The five independent cities of Lesbos were: Mytilene, Methymna, Antissa, Eresos and Pyrrha. A sixth town, Arisbe, is said to have been enslaved by Methymna.

A plan of ancient Mytilene is provided in Chapter Six.

³Strabo xiii 2, 2-3 translation: “Mytilene has two harbours, of which the southern can be closed and holds only fifty triremes, but the northern is large and deep, and is sheltered by a mole. Off both lies a small island, which contains a part of the city that is settled there. And the city is well equipped with everything.”

⁴Longus, *Daphnis and Chlōe* I.1 provides a romantic view of the town and its environs: “There's a city in Lesbos called Mytilene, a big and beautiful one, divided by canals through which the sea flows

Ancient Mytilene is buried beneath modern Mytilene, but written sources and salvage excavation furnish information about the old town. Some of the earliest Iron Age remains on Lesbos have been found at Mytilene⁵. Iron Age evidence is sparse, consisting merely of two tombs, a possible *ex-voto* deposit, a small quantity of late PG and G pottery and a PG building in the north harbour in the modern area of Epano Skala⁶. The provenience of this early material, found both on the island and on the mainland, is important because it dispels the theory that the off-shore island was the location of the first Greek settlements. The assumption was that the Greeks settled there initially because they were protected by the channel, a natural defense from the indigenous populations or threats from the sea⁷.

The 'Kastro' island was not abandoned and this bipartite organization of the town was maintained throughout Mytilene's history. The mainland area of Mytilene was fortified, at least from the fifth century B.C.⁸ and it is possible that the acropolis was also walled⁹. Vitruvius implies that Mytilene was laid out in an orthogonal street

gently, and decorated with bridges of white, polished stone. You would think that you were looking at an island, not a city. About two hundred stades from this city of Mytilene a rich man had an estate, a very fine property. There were hills covered with game, plains rich in wheat, slopes with many vines, pastures stocked with sheep, and the soft sand of a long beach, washed by the sea."

The single channel (not *channels* as described by Longus) was filled in during the Middle Ages. Odos Ermou, the modern main shopping street of Mytilene, follows the path of the original waterway. Remains of an Hellenistic or Roman marble bridge springing were found in a salvage excavation on the north end of this street.

R. Koldewey, 1890, Die antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos, (Berlin), plans 1 and 2 provide good views of Mytilene. Plan 1 shows ancient Mytilene with the acropolis island separated from the mainland, the harbours and the possible location of the bridges that connected the two areas of the town. Plan 2 shows Mytilene in the late 1800's when it was under Turkish rule. This plan provides a good view of the town's terrain and the location and condition of the acropolis, town walls and ancient theatre.

⁵Spencer, 1995, 277. Pyrrha is the only other site on Lesbos where PG and G remains have been discovered.

⁶Ibid, 279.

⁷Kondis, 16-18. The non-Greek place names and the presence of many minor goddesses known only on Lesbos indicate that the native inhabitants of Lesbos strongly influenced the new Greek settlers. The retention of these many non-Greek elements of society also suggests that the local inhabitants and newcomers for the most part merged peacefully.

⁸Williams, H. and C., 1989, EMC 172-173. The history of Mytilene's fortifications is unclear. The earliest known fortifications date to the fifth century B.C.; sections of this circuit wall are still visible behind the ancient theatre. In 428 B.C., Athens decreed that Mytilene had to demolish her wall as partial punishment for her revolt from the Delian Confederacy. The town later rebuilt at least some of her fortifications. Excavations near the north harbour have revealed a section of circuit wall that can be dated roughly to the fourth century B.C., but whether early or late in the century is not known. It is also unknown if this wall is part of the original fortifications or a later reconstruction.

⁹The acropolis was probably fortified, but the heavy alterations to the acropolis and extensive walling built by the Byzantine and later Turkish overlords have destroyed any remains of an earlier wall.

plan¹⁰. The town was also supplied with a stone theatre, located in the western part of the town inside the town walls, and several sanctuaries, including one to Asklepios¹¹, one to Artemis Aithopia¹², one to Apollo Maloeis¹³ and one to Demeter which is located on the acropolis. Today the Demeter site lies in an open area surrounded by Genoese and Turkish fortifications¹⁴.

Dr. H. Williams of the University of British Columbia, Canada, and Dr. C. Williams, have been excavating in Mytilene since 1983 under the auspices of the Canadian Archaeological Institute in Athens¹⁵. The acropolis has proven to be a difficult and confusing site to excavate because it was an area of intense cultural utilization. This small acropolis has been occupied by the Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Turks and modern inhabitants¹⁶. Each successive group levelled, dug deep foundations and built new structures. The Turkish towns that developed on the hilltop completely destroyed

¹⁰Vitruvius i 6, 1 gives the impression Mytilene was laid out orthogonally: "... quemadmodum in insula Lesbo oppidum Mytilenae magnificentiter est aedificatum et eleganter, sed positum non prudenter. In qua ciuitate auster cum flat, homines aegrotant; cum chorus, tussiunt; cum septentrio, restituuntur in salubritatem, sed in angiporis et plateis non possunt consistere propter uehementiam frigoris."

[Trans.: "... In which manner the city of Mytilene on the island of Lesbos is magnificently and elegantly built, but not laid out prudently. In this city when the South wind blows, men fall ill; when the Northwest, they cough; when the North, they are restored to health, but they cannot stand in the alleys and the streets on account of the vehemence of the cold."]

Work undertaken by Dr. H. Williams also suggests there may have been a street plan oriented roughly north to south and east to west, though there is as yet no evidence for *insulae* sizes or street widths. See C. and H. Williams, Classical Views XXXIII - n.s. 8, 1989, 175 to 176.

¹¹The sanctuary of Asklepios is believed to be located under the church of Agios Therapon. See the city plan in Chapter Six.

¹²IG XII². 4. This sanctuary is tentatively identified as located in the area of the gymnasium of the old orphanage on the south slope of the acropolis. A small trench was excavated in the area by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1994. No architecture was found, but terracotta figurines were brought to light.

¹³RE XVI, 1418 and Thucydides iii 3, 3. Thucydides indicates that the sanctuary was outside the fortifications. The sanctuary has not been located, but it might be situated outside of the north gate, near the beach, where Koldewey excavated Roman remains.

¹⁴Barber, R., 716. The main fortifications were constructed by the Genoese Gattelusi family in A.D. 1374. This date is recorded on the castle itself in an inscription over the west gate. Lesbos came under Gattelusi control when it was presented to Francesco Gattelusio by the Byzantine ruler John Paleologos. The island came as part of the dowry when Francesco Gattelusio married John Paleologos' sister. Later modifications were undertaken to the Kastro by Turkish inhabitants who added extra circuit walls, towers and a dry moat. The interior area was also modified; terraces were constructed to create more flat land for housing and numerous deep water reservoirs were added.

¹⁵The author has been involved with these excavations since 1984, first as a trench supervisor and then from 1985 as the Kastro site supervisor. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Doctors H. and C. Williams for their continuing support of my work on the site.

¹⁶The Kastro was thickly inhabited by the Greek refugees who were expelled from Turkey in 1912. It was also inhabited by German occupation forces during World War II and it was used as a base by

nearly all traces of cultural activity from c A.D. 50 to about the tenth century A.D.¹⁷ Major re-building programmes are common in Mytilene because Lesbos is subject to frequent strong earthquakes¹⁸.

The sanctuary is located on the highest point of the Kastro. It is roughly rectangular, measuring approximately 35m north to south and 20m east to west, thereby covering 700m². It is not possible to give exact measurements because only one short section of putative *peribolos* wall has survived, but simple spatial analysis indicates that cultic artifacts were found only within this area. No cult-related artifacts were outside this zone¹⁹. The site is in a relatively poor state of preservation; all structures have been razed to their foundations, cutting them off below floor level, often leaving only one layer of foundation stones *in situ*. Despite this it is possible to determine the arrangement of structures within the sanctuary space. All architectural remains are aligned north to south along the long axis, with the sanctuary building on the west side of the site and the altars on the east. The preserved step of the prothesis altar indicates that it, and therefore probably all the other altars, faced east. The small section of *peribolos* wall runs behind the western wall of the sanctuary building indicating that this building probably opened to the east, facing in to the sanctuary.

Site Identification

There is no epigraphical evidence which securely identifies this *temenos* as a sanctuary of Demeter²⁰, but it is considered to be a sanctuary of Demeter on the basis of

the Greek army until the new base was established outside of the ancient walls on the east slope of the acropolis.

¹⁷See n. 14.

The occasional scattered finds of later materials, including Late Roman pottery, indicate that the acropolis was not just abandoned during this time period. The fate of any marble structures or statuary is indicated by a lime kiln and a lime slaking pit found in the central area of the acropolis. The slaked lime was used in the construction of a Byzantine church and on the later mosque which was built over the church.

¹⁸The resultant rubble from an earthquake of c 1800 A.D. left much of the site covered with up to 3m of over-fill.

¹⁹See, however, the discussion of the lamp deposit found to the west of the sanctuary in "Votive and Cult Vessels, Lamps", this chapter.

²⁰Williams, H., 1990. *BCMI* 4; *AR* 1990-1991, 62; Williams, personal communication May 17, 1996. Identification of the sanctuary was thought to have been verified in 1990 when Dr. David Jordan examined a curse tablet found within the sanctuary limits; the tablet contains a list of names, possibly of jurors, and a name that seemed to read "ΔΑΜΑΤΡΟΣ" - of Demeter. Dr. Jordan re-examined the tablet under a microscope in 1996 and discovered that, unfortunately, the name actually reads "ΔΑΜΑΡΚΟΣ".

artifactual and faunal evidence. These finds are comparable to artifacts from securely identified Demeter sanctuaries, such as Knossos, Pergamon, Knidos, Cyrene and Acrocorinth.

THE SANCTUARY: ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS

General Construction Characteristics

All surviving wall foundations are a composite of three types of building stone: local andesite²¹, acropolis bedrock²² and coarse black basalt. The proportions of each type of stone are roughly the same in all walls; andesite is the most commonly used material, bedrock less so, while basalt is the least common stone of the three. All the foundations are characterized by a flimsy dry-stone construction which used small pieces of stone either naturally shaped or only very roughly squared. The superstructure of the cult building may have been constructed of mud-brick while numerous fragments of clay tiles indicate that the building was roofed. Mud brick was also used for the superstructures of at least two of the altars - the prothesis and the rubble altars (see "Altars O and P" below). Altars E and N contained the only cut-stone work found in the sanctuary.

Individual structures: (see Plan 1 below)

A. *Peribolos* Wall

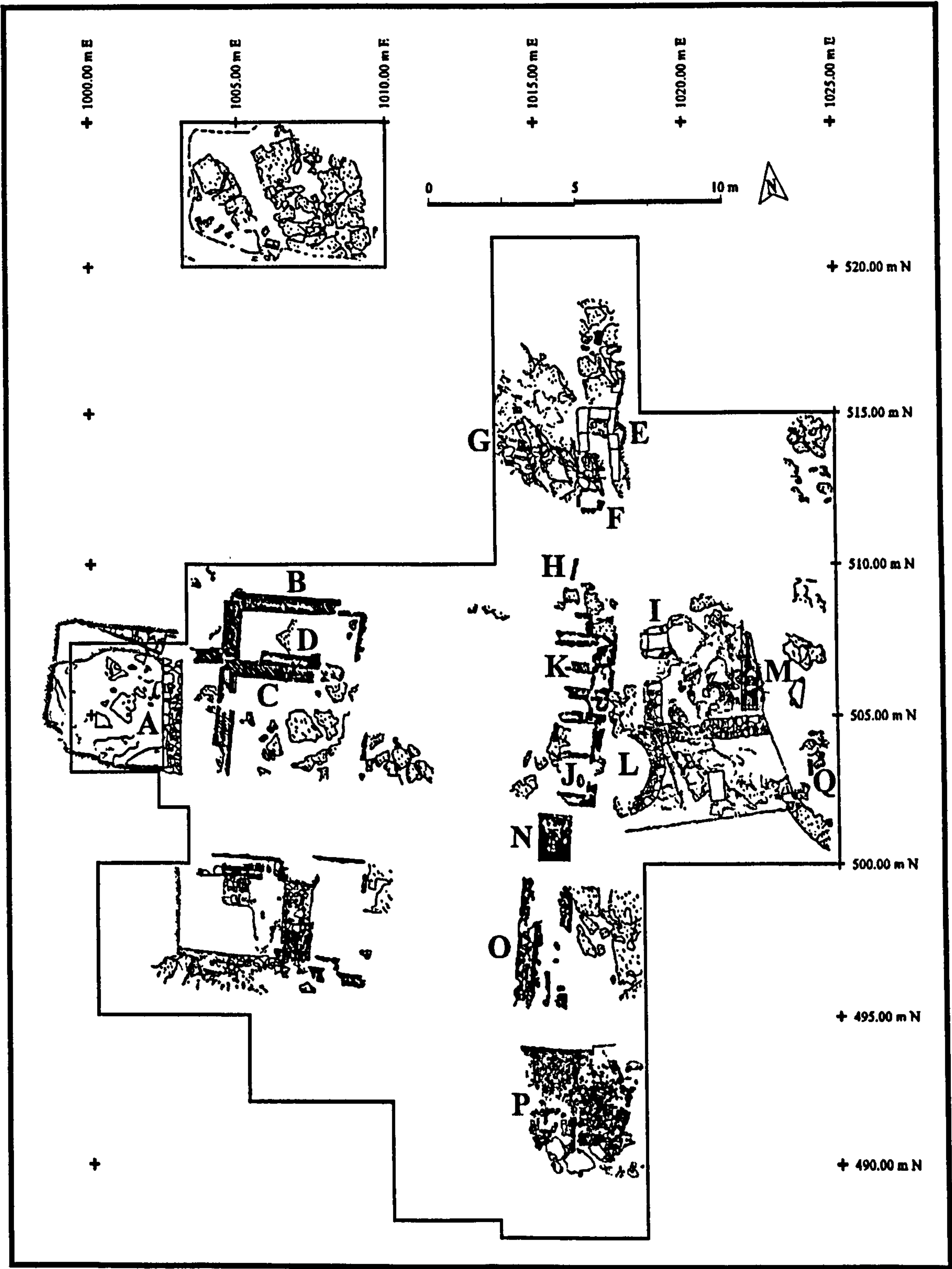
A short section of the sanctuary's *peribolos* wall was uncovered on the western side of the sanctuary. It is aligned north to south, parallel to the *naos*/dining-room (see B, C and D). The western, or outer, face is constructed of large stones with good, smoothed surfaces while the east face consists of the small, un-worked and roughly-worked stones. It is clear, therefore, that this wall was to be viewed only from the one side; the western face would have been visible to the general public while the rough

²¹The local andesite ranges in colour from pink to a deep maroon. The structures in the Demeter sanctuary at Pergamon are constructed from a similar type of stone.

²²The acropolis bedrock is a rough, reddish stone that is seamed by water erosion channels. The foundations of all structures in the sanctuary are located so close to bedrock that ridges often protrude into the archaeological level. Some of the foundation walls even incorporate these bedrock spurs. It is likely that the higher ridges of bedrock were visible to worshippers in the sanctuary.

eastern face was hidden by virtue of its proximity to the cult structure located a mere 1.25m away.

Plan 1:



Mytilene: The Sanctuary of Demeter

B, C and D. Naos / Dining Hall and 'Bench'

The poorly preserved architectural remains that line the western side may belong to a single structure. The north end of the building has survived the best, with preserved internal dimensions of 4m east to west and 5.5m north to south. A single preserved crosswall indicates that the building was divided into at least two rooms. The smaller (northernmost) measures 1.65m north to south. The structure, marked D on the plan, is very tentatively identified as a bench, either for the placement of offerings or for use as a couch for ritual dining. This 'bench' is constructed in much the same manner as the other preserved architecture on the site, but it is distinguished by a large flat stone set on edge at each end, forming what appear to be two finished ends. Identification is, however, tentative because the 'bench' aligns with a section of a poorly preserved wall located directly to the west²³ and because it was not constructed at the same time as the original structure, rather it rests partially on top of the north-south cross wall. It is likely that the 'bench' is in fact a preserved section of a later Hellenistic building which was constructed over the early Hellenistic structure²⁴.

No cultural surfaces were preserved in the north of the structure, but a small area of flooring was preserved in the southern end. The floor consisted of four or five layers, each approximately 2cm thick, composed of compact clay and small flat fragments of schist. These layers were deposited upon a solid, level packing of stones which were set into red soil consisting of decomposed bedrock. One floor stratum was stained with charcoal flecks and was distinctly darker than the layers above and below. It is possible that this was the original floor and that the strata above represent resurfacing. The floor strata contained almost no artifacts, but the few fragmentary objects recovered were cultic in nature, including a terracotta figurine of a veiled and draped female and a few sherds of dining wares. Flotation samples from each of the layers found no floral or faunal material at all, which indicates that the surfaces were

²³Williams, Hector, *AR* 1989-90, 65.

²⁴See also the discussion in Chapter Four regarding the internal topography of Demeter sanctuaries. If the structure was a bench, it is more likely to have been a place to set out offerings, as was the practice in Priene and Cyrene. Dining halls have only been found in *one* Demeter sanctuary, at the large complex at Acrocorinth. Pottery from the sanctuary on Mytilene indicates that ritual dining was an important part of the celebrations held there, but the small size of the sanctuary suggests feasting was an outdoor event.

carefully cleaned after use²⁵. The south end of the building also provided the only distinct artifact grouping found on the site (other than deposits of votive materials). Abundant fragments of both storage and plain serving vessels made of a soft, red local clay were found in and around the area, above the level of the floor surfaces indicating that foodstuffs were stored in or near the southern end of the building. No cooking facilities were uncovered, and so it is unknown where this food was prepared, but it is unlikely to have been in the building.

Identification of this structure is difficult because of its poor state of preservation. It may tentatively be identified as either a small *naos* or a dining hall based on comparisons with the dining facilities at Acrocorinth or the cult *naos* at Priene²⁶.

E. Cut-stone altar

Altar E is the northernmost altar, and one of two made from cut-stone. This altar is rectangular with preserved dimensions of 2.40m north to south and 1.25m east to west. The south-east corner is not preserved. The altar is constructed of large, well-cut andesite blocks²⁷ surrounding a dirt core. Only one layer of stones is preserved; it is not known if subsequent layers existed nor if they were also constructed of andesite. A flotation sample from the central dirt core indicates that bloodless sacrifices were offered at this altar. The sample yielded only carbonized grains and a single grape seed; no bones were found.

F and G. Offering Pits

A small, shallow offering pit was discovered just south of Altar E. The pit (marked F on plan one) is cut into bedrock. Two sides are formed by natural bedrock, while the other two (the south and east) were man-made, built up with small chunks of the same bedrock. The bottom of the pit is flat and small peck-marks which were made by the metal tools used to cut the pit are visible. The maximum preserved dimensions are:

²⁵The lack of floral or faunal remains within the floor layers does not rule out the identification of the structure as a dining facility. Flotation samples were taken from the hard clay floors of various dining halls at Acrocorinth in the summer of 1994; preliminary results show that these floors also contained almost no remains of food materials (Dr. Nancy Bookidis, July 26, 1994, personal communication).

²⁶See above n. 24 and see the catalogue entries for architectural descriptions, site plans and bibliographic references for these two sites.

²⁷The largest stone in this altar measures roughly 1m x 0.40m and 0.21m thick.

0.60m north to south, 0.65m east to west, and approximately 0.20m deep. It is not known if the pit was originally deeper, with all sides built-up from pieces of bedrock.

Offering vessels were found *in situ* in the pit, and the reddish-brown soil located just above contained large numbers of broken miniature hydriai²⁸.

One or two other small, putative pits are located at G on plan 1. The evidence for these other pits is very tentative; their existence is only suggested by overlapping small areas of marks that resemble the peck-marks found at the bottom of pit 'F'. There may have been many such offering pits across the site but the acropolis bedrock is very soft and erodes easily, giving unprotected man-made surfaces little chance of preservation.

H. and I. Altars

Two small altars, or private offering platforms, were also found in the sanctuary (H and I on plan 1). H is very poorly preserved, but it resembles Altar I located to the north of the hearth altar. Altar I is a man-made structure which consists of three large, worked slabs of coarse basalt, set on edge to form the north, south and west sides of a square. These slabs abut an outcropping of bedrock which formed the fourth, or east side, of the altar. The centre of the altar was packed with soil and then paved with small stones. There are signs of burning on the stone paving, the basalt slabs and on the bedrock outcrop. No pottery, floral or faunal remains were found on or under the paving, indicating that these small altars were cleaned thoroughly after use.

J. Hearth Altar

Altar J the largest in the sanctuary, with total dimensions of 6.25m north to south and a minimum of 2m east to west (the western boundary is not preserved). The northernmost 3.25m of the altar is, however, a later addition (see K and L below). This altar is a shallow, chthonic, structure that lies directly above bedrock. The low walls that form the edges of the altar are constructed in the same technique as the foundations described above (three types of small stones laid in earth). A residue of yellow soil found in the area suggests that the height of these walls may have been

²⁸See below: "Pottery, Offering Vessels".

augmented by mud brick. The interior was organized into five compartments which were separated by spines of stone set on edge. Each individual compartment was plastered, the southernmost one preserving evidence of five separate coats. Altar J preserves evidence of burning as does the soil in and around the structure.

K. and L. Hearth Altar additions: ash repository and north end

The ash repository is located to the east of the hearth altar. It consists of a low, dry-stone, semi-circular exedra that originally abutted the east face of the hearth altar²⁹. The exedra enclosed a deep deposit of fine ash and large quantities of shattered and calcined bone. Burning on the surrounding rocks indicates that these sacrificial offerings were burned *in situ*. The deposit was also stratified, the accumulation of many sacrificial conflagrations.

Flotation samples taken in the summer of 1994 testify to a division of use between the altar proper and the exedra. No faunal material was recovered from the samples taken from inside the compartments, instead charred wheat and barley kernels were retrieved. The absence of bones and the presence of the floral material attest that the altar, at least after the addition of the exedra, was used only for bloodless offerings while blood sacrifices, i.e. piglets, were offered, or at least burned, solely in the exedra. There is no indication that the individual compartments were used for different types of grain offerings.

Altar J was extended to the north at an unknown date. This section, 3.25m in length, is constructed of the same mixed building stone as the original, but it is poorer quality work. Both the exedra (L) and the altar extension (K) have the same base depths, approximately 10cm higher than the southern section of Altar J. This disparity in foundation depths between the two halves of the hearth altar indicates that the northern section was added at a later date, while the comparable depths of the exedra and the repository attest that these two are contemporary.

²⁹A Turkish rubbish pit was dug into the edge of the ash repository obscuring the boundary between it and the hearth altar. Small quantities of ash and calcined bone were found adhering to the east (outer) face of the hearth altar indicating that the exedra did indeed abut the altar.

M. Walls

Assorted walls were excavated east of altar J/L. Poor preservation makes it impossible to identify their function.

N. Cut-stone altar/Offering Table

This structure is the second of two cut-stone platforms in the sanctuary. It is a small rectangle, measuring 1.5m north to south and 1m east to west and it is constructed in the same manner as Altar E (andesite blocks surrounding a dirt core). An interesting feature of this structure is that the north-east corner has been repaired. The original large corner stone is missing and small unworked stones set in mud-mortar were built up to replace it. The repair is actually higher than the level of the stones suggesting that the structure may have originally been taller. The function of this platform is unclear. It is located in a very narrow passage between the hearth altar J and the prothesis altar O³⁰ and there is no evidence of burning either on the stones or on the soil around it. Its small size, location and lack of staining suggest that it was an offering table.

O. Prothesis altar

The prothesis altar was a large structure with preserved measurements of 4.25m north to south and 1.7m east to west. One step, located on the west side, allowed access to the altar's upper platform. The altar is constructed of small stones set into mud mortar with larger stones used to create right-angled corners. Small traces of white plaster on some of the lowermost stones suggest the whole altar may have been coated so that the rough construction would not have been visible.

P. Rubble and mud-brick altar

This altar is very poorly preserved with only one thin layer of rubble remaining *in situ*. Larger stones were used to outline the edges of the structure, while very small stones were used to fill the centre. Large quantities of a hard, yellow soil were found over the altar itself and fanning out from it as if rain action had eroded it away. This soil, comparable to that found in the hearth altar, suggests that the superstructure was

³⁰The platform is located 1m to the south of Altar J and 1.5m to the north of Altar O.

constructed of mud brick. Small flecks of burned organic material and carbon staining indicate that immolations took place on its top. This altar also has an exedra abutting its east face, but unlike exedra L, it was solid, constructed in the same manner as the rest of the structure. The altar's preserved measurements are 3.25m north to south and 2m east to west. The south end and west side were destroyed by later Turkish intrusions.

Q. Stele base

A stele base set in bedrock was excavated on the east side of the sanctuary. It is not known if the *temenos* extended as far as this base, but beyond this point very few artifacts related to the Demeter sanctuary have been found.

CULT AND RITUALS AT MYTILENE

Altars form the most conspicuous element of the site. There are six arranged in a single line running north to south, parallel to the *naos*/dining hall. Five of these altars, H to J/K and P were contemporary, while Altar E was constructed at a later date³¹. These altars provide invaluable information for identifying and understanding the cult activities of the sanctuary.

The form of the altars indicates that the deity of the sanctuary was chthonic. Yavis states that altars in chthonic cults are generally low, and have peculiarities built into them to fulfil specific cult requirements³². Five of Mytilene's altars conform to these requirements. Altars J/K, H and I are Ground altars, a type of Hearth altar. H and I are small examples of the type, possibly used for private offerings³³. Altar J/K is 6.25m long, the largest in the sanctuary, and therefore certainly the focus of most festivals. E and P may be classified as low monumental altars, simple, elongated

³¹Altar E has a higher foundation level than other altars on the site and it is located approximately 40cm to the north of *Bothros* F (plan 1). *Bothros* F and Altar E could not have been in use at the same time. In order to cut *Bothros* F out of the bedrock, Altar E would have been undermined. Three offering vessels were found *in situ* in *Bothros* F dating it to the first half of the third century B.C., providing a *terminus post quem* for Altar E.

³²Yavis, 52, 93. Yavis' chthonic altar types include: low monumental, hollow ceremonial, masonry well-altar, monolithic well altars, ground altars and sacrificial pits.

³³A further indication of the chthonic nature of these altars is that all four incorporate living bedrock, which in all cases exhibits burning.

rectangular structures with no prothesis and generally only reaching waist height³⁴; the problem, however, with these two altars is that only one course has survived, so their original heights are unknown.

Altar O cannot be identified as a chthonic structure. It retains evidence of a single-step prothesis, located on the west side of the altar. Such a prothesis generally signifies a tall altar used for sacrificing to an Olympian deity³⁵. This altar, surrounded by the chthonic types, suggests Demeter was worshipped in both chthonic and non-chthonic guises in this sanctuary, or as Yavis postulates for Pergamon, that the altar had no Olympian significance³⁶.

Multiple altars are not rare in Demeter sanctuaries. In a single sanctuary, individual altars could be dedicated to Demeter, to Kore and perhaps one to Hades or to other chthonic and local deities. This tendency is clearly seen at both Eleusis and Pergamon. Eleusis had two main altars, one dedicated to Demeter and one dedicated to Kore. The officiating priest stood between the two to perform rituals on either or both altars. Pergamon had five altars: one large altar dedicated to Demeter to the east of the temple, and four smaller ones dedicated individually to 'All the Gods and Goddesses', to Selene, to Kalligone Eueteria and to Ge Anesidora³⁷. Such multiple altars were usually organized so that there was a large, central one with lesser sacrificial platforms spread throughout the sanctuary grounds. Mytilene, however, does not exhibit this arrangement; instead the altars are set end to end in a single line. The significance of this alignment is unknown. Altar J, the largest structure, was presumably the main sacrificial area, but the status of the other altars is uncertain. There are no inscriptions to connect specific altars to specific deities, and the size differential among the smaller altars³⁸ does not allow them to be placed in order of relative importance. It is possible that the linear alignment is due simply to the fact that there was not enough space in the sanctuary to arrange the altars in any other

³⁴Yavis, 108.

³⁵*ibid.*, 92

³⁶Yavis, 207. Yavis presents the circular argument that "This altar does not conform exactly to the normal form of a low monumental altar, in that it had a prothesis. But since a chthonic altar is to be expected at a temple of Demeter, the prothesis here must have no ritual significance, but only a functional purpose."

³⁷Dörpfeld, 1912, 247

³⁸This does not include the small, possibly private offering platforms/altars H and I.

fashion. Unfortunately, the territorial limits of the sanctuary are not known, but the structures and artifact find-patterns do suggest that it was long and narrow.

Communal feasting was an important element of many Demeter festivals, especially the Thesmophoria. Pottery indicates that dining formed an integral part of the celebrations held on Mytilene's acropolis, but its exact location within the sanctuary is problematic. It is likely that dining was an open-air ritual, at least for the majority of the festival participants, but in-door dining facilities may have been provided for priestesses or other important celebrants. The building on the west side of the sanctuary has been tentatively identified as such a facility³⁹ but there are problems with this interpretation. The main problem is the size of the single preserved bench. This bench is too narrow for reclining to eat a meal, measuring only 60cm wide as against those at Acrocorinth which measured between 80cm to 90cm. A secondary problem is the location of the building; it runs parallel to the string of altars. In Acrocorinth, the only known Demeter sanctuary with constructed dining-halls, the main ritual area and the dining facilities were physically separated, located on two separate terraces. The location of the building in Mytilene with its close relation to the altars instead suggests an additional identification — a cult structure, possibly comparable to the *naos* at Priene⁴⁰.

All elements of the sanctuary at Mytilene indicate that Demeter was worshipped as an earth deity, probably as Thesmophoros, her most common chthonic guise. The size and number of altars attests that the sanctuary served a large number of people, but the poor quality of the preserved structures and the lack of architectural elements found in other large Demeter sanctuaries, such as a theatral area, a megaron, stoas

³⁹Bookidis and Fisher, 1972, 284. Acrocorinth's numerous dining halls provide the best evidence for the importance of feasting. Dining facilities are located within the sanctuary on the lower terrace flanking the long, central monumental stairway. A typical hall consists of a single room or series of rooms, each lined with low plastered couches on which the diners reclined. A separate area was provided for food preparation and storage. Kitchen wares and hearths show cooking was done in each separate dining facility. The Hellenistic halls had separate rooms for bathing, and sitting. It is not known if the bathing was a purifying act done before or after meals, or if the seating areas were for satiated diners or for people waiting their turn to dine or bathe. The importance of the feasting areas is shown by the fact that the earliest dining halls date to the same century as the earliest architectural remains on the site, the sixth century B.C. Acrocorinth is the only known Demeter sanctuary with built dining halls. In other sites, dining was in the open air.

⁴⁰Cronkite, Susan-Marie, Mytilene Field Report 1987. Unpublished. Wiegand and Schrader, 147 ff: The sanctuary of Demeter at Priene consists of an L-shaped *cella* that was lined on three sides with

and fountains, indicates that it was not a town show-piece. The sanctuary was purely functional, serving the needs of the women of Mytilene.

POTTERY

A large quantity of pottery was found within the area of the sanctuary. It has been divided into two categories: domestic wares and votive or cult-related vessels. Domestic vessels include common shapes that could be found in everyday residences, while votive vessels are either miniatures or known ritual types.

Domestic Wares

This category includes both fine and plain wares. Fine wares from the sanctuary include a full range of vessels used for feasting and drinking, including fishplates, flat plates, echinus bowls, small bowls or saucers, salt cellars, skyphoi, kantharoi, lekythoi and askoi. The majority of the vessels in this category are imported Aegean brown/black gloss, though there is also a small percentage of Attic black gloss. Mytilene imported the majority of its fine wares because of the poor quality of the local clays.

The plain wares consisted of a wide range of vessels used for the storage, preparation and service of food, including small table jugs, small table amphorae, large jugs, carinated bowls, ledge-lipped basins, flat-based basins, cooking vessels, lekanai and large storage amphorae. The majority of this pottery was produced locally.

The quantity of domestic pottery indicates that dining played a significant role in the festivals celebrated in the sanctuary, while the wide range of vessel types implies that all facets of food catering and banqueting were managed within the sanctuary. Feasting vessels were also left in the sanctuary, presumably deposited at the end of each festival. The vessels may have become the property of the goddess and hence been too sacred to remove or they may have been left as a token of an individual's

1m wide benches where offerings were placed. An offset rectangular forehall with two Doric columns *in antis* forms a façade for both the *cella* and two small rooms located to the north.

participation⁴¹. It is interesting to note the similarities in the ranges of pottery among Demeter sanctuaries. The pottery of Knossos⁴², Cyrene⁴³, Tocra⁴⁴ and Acrocorinth⁴⁵ all exhibit the same characteristics as Mytilene - large quantities of non-cultic, domestic pottery (kitchen wares, storage vessels and dining wares) used and then abandoned in the site.

Votive and Cult Vessels (Plates I to XI)

The majority of votive vessels found in Demeter's sanctuary in Mytilene were miniature representations of domestic shapes. Although these miniatures were abundant, only three shapes are attested: hydriai, kantharoi and shallow offering dishes. These votive wares were mass produced locally.

A narrow range of vessels which were likely used in the celebration of cult festivals themselves were also found in the sanctuary, including ring kernoi, thuribles and lamps.

Miniature Hydriai (Plates I to VI)

Miniature hydriai were the most popular votive in the Mytilenean sanctuary⁴⁶. Roughly four hundred examples were found in the 1990 season alone⁴⁷ and many others came to light in previous excavation seasons. Numerous complete vessels also formed part of a large lamp deposit found in 1986.

There are two categories of miniature hydriai: a heavy, coarse type and a fine, graceful form. Both styles display the same basic body form; a solid disc foot with a low pedestal, an ovoid body, a tall slender neck and a flaring rim with a hanging lip⁴⁸.

⁴¹Many of the fishplates were even 'ritually killed' (the bottom of the central well broken out) so they could not be re-used. The pottery was not found in individual caches, but in equal quantities all through the sanctuary grounds. It seems that vessels were abandoned and not ritually deposited.

⁴²Coldstream, 1973. Knossos, The Sanctuary of Demeter.

⁴³Schaus, 1985. Libya 2.

⁴⁴Boardman and Hayes, 1966 and 1977. Tocra 1 and 2.

⁴⁵Pemberton, 1989, Corinth 18. 1.

⁴⁶Miniature hydriai are popular votives in many Demeter sanctuaries, including Acrocorinth, Rhodes, Knossos, Kalyvia, Tocra and Abdera where over 10,000 have been discovered. See the Site Catalogue for details of each site and relevant bibliography.

⁴⁷Cronkite, 1991, Mytilene Field Study, personal notes.

⁴⁸Williams and Toli, 1990, 100.

They average 12cm in height and are formed from a local pink clay⁴⁹. A small number of examples were also made from local gray ware. They were either unadorned or at most painted with a thick white slip. A small number of finer vessels sported very simple decoration; for example, one sherd retains a row of alternating red and white painted dots around the juncture of the neck and shoulder⁵⁰, while another has a plastic bead-and-reel moulding applied in the same location⁵¹ (Plate V).

Miniature Kantharoi (Plate VIII)

Kantharos fragments were found in the sanctuary, and approximately twenty complete and nearly complete vessels were found in the large lamp deposit ⁵². There are two categories of these votives: a form made from the local clay, and a type decorated in the West Slope tradition made from a finer and harder clay than the familiar local pink type⁵³. Both vessel groups have the same basic body shape, measuring 4 to 6cm in height, and consisting of a low moulded pedestal base, a two-part body (a rounded cup-like lower body, a tall upper portion with small, plain, flared rim) and vertical handles. Handles on the plain vessels have no finger supports, while the handles on the West Slope vessels have thumb rests⁵⁴. The examples made from the local pink clay were left unadorned, while the imitation West Slope vessels were covered with black gloss and had a poorly rendered wreath of elongated leaves (olive or laurel) on the upper half of the body. Miniature kantharoi were the second most popular votive discovered in the sanctuary. The West Slope category forms the majority of these vessels.

Offering Vessels (Plate VII)

Fragments of coarse offering vessels were found all across the site and complete examples were uncovered *in situ* in *bothros* F and in the lamp deposit. No two vessels are identical because of their crude manufacture, but they all have the same basic body

⁴⁹Munsell Colour chart: between 5YR7/3 and 7/4 or 7.5YR7/4. This soft clay was also used in the coroplastic industry in Mytilene.

⁵⁰Uncatalogued to date. Found in MYT-90-I in the environs of the rubble Altar P.

⁵¹Uncatalogued to date. Found in MYT-90-I in the area of the west building B.

⁵²See Lamps, this chapter for a discussion of the deposit.

⁵³It is not known if these vessels were made locally with materials from a different clay bed or if they were imported.

⁵⁴Williams and Toli, 1990, 99.

shape. They consist of a hollow raised disc foot, an uneven flaring bowl-like body and an everted rim. Two handles, one each side, are attached immediately below the rim. These vessels are wheel-made, but they were mass produced locally with little regard to the finished appearance. The interior of the vessels were generally well-smoothed but little care was taken on the exterior surfaces. They were also undecorated and many have signs of burning⁵⁵.

Kernoi (Plate Ib, IXc and X)

Nine ring kernoi⁵⁶ and one possible Eleusinian kernos were found in the Demeter sanctuary in Mytilene. All but two of the fragments, were found in the vicinity of the altars. One ring kernos and the possible Eleusinian version were found in an area that contained disturbed deposits of cultic material, including miniature hydriai.

Eight of the ring-type vessels are composed of a solid base, with evidence for four, or more, attached vessels, usually miniature hydriai. The ninth kernos, however, is different. It has a hollow, rather than solid, ring base and the single preserved attached vessel has a hole in its bottom. This kernos may have been used for liquids, allowing them to flow through the attached vessels into the hollow base below. All the ring kernoi were locally produced and completely unadorned.

Six non-joining fragments of a white slipped vessel have been very tentatively identified as an Eleusinian-type kernos⁵⁷. This vessel type, so called because of their popularity at both Eleusis and the Athenian Eleusinian, consists of a conical base, a lower body that flares out into a flange, and then curves up and inwards to a wide mouth. Small vessels called kotyliskoi, adorn the flange and shoulder⁵⁸. Pollitt defines four basic categories of Eleusinian kernoi from Athens. The categories are based on the number of kotyliskoi present on the vessel:

1. kernoi with large, distinct kotyliskoi on the flange
2. kernoi with small summarily rendered kotyliskoi

⁵⁵ibid., 100.

⁵⁶Pollitt, 228f. Pollitt argues that Eleusinian kernoi are the only vessels that should be called a 'kernos'. Other vessels such as the ring-type, commonly called kernoi, should not be so called because they do not correspond to the literary descriptions (see n. 62) or to those pictured on the Niinnion plaque.

⁵⁷Williams, Hector, 1991 Mytilene study season, personal communication.

⁵⁸Pollitt, 207-209.

3. kernoι with vestigial kotyliskoi, the attached vessels shown as small raised dots or as actual holes through the shoulder and flange
4. plain kernoι, which have the same shape, but lack attached vessels of any type⁵⁹.

The vessel found in the sanctuary in Mytilene may be Pollitt's type three kernos, a vessel with vestigial kotyliskoi rendered as holes on the flange and shoulder (Plate X).

Literary evidence demonstrates that the Eleusinian-type of kernos was used in the worship of chthonic fertility deities⁶⁰, and archaeological evidence indicates that it was important in the Attic sanctuaries of Eleusinian Demeter⁶¹. The exact use of this vessel and its meaning in festival ritual are unknown but its shape and the description provided by Athenaeus⁶² suggest that it may have been used by individuals for offering first fruits to the goddess. Athenaeus also records that the vessels were carried in a dance called the *kernophoros*, a frenetic dance he compares to the antics of madmen⁶³. The Niinnion plaque found at Eleusis may portray such a dance⁶⁴.

The discovery of a possible Eleusinian kernos at Mytilene is important because of the rarity of these vessels outside of Attica. One kernos has been found near the mines of Laurion, and a few examples have been discovered in Alexandria. Pollitt assumes that the presence of these vessels in Egypt was due to the influence of Ptolemy I who established a village near Alexandria, called Eleusis, where festivals of Demeter were held, including some elements of the Mysteries⁶⁵. It is possible only to speculate as to why an Eleusinian kernos might be found at Mytilene. The vessel indicates that festivals which included the *kernophoros*, the offering of first fruits, or even some of the elements of the Eleusinian Mysteries could have been held in the sanctuary, but the presence of a only single vessel implies that it is unlikely these were annual celebrations. Instead, it is conceivable that the kernos entered the sanctuary as a

⁵⁹ibid., 209.

⁶⁰Pollitt, 206 and n. 4. Rhea: Nikander *Alexipharmaka*, 217. Kybele: Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* ii 15, 3.

⁶¹Rubensohn, 271-306.

⁶²Athenaeus v 11, 476 e and f: "ΚΕΡΝΟΣ. ἀγγεῖον κεραμεῖον, ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς κοτυλίσκους κεκολλημένους, ἐν οἷς, φησὶν, μήκωνες λευκοί, πυροί, κριθαί, πισοί, λάθυροι, ὄχροι, φακοί."

⁶³Athenaeus vi 14, 629d "μανιώδεις δ' εἰσὶν ὀρχήσεις κερνοφόρος..."

⁶⁴Pollitt, 207.

⁶⁵Pollitt, 229; Tacitus *Hist.* 4, 48.

votive offering, dedicated by someone who had participated in festivals in Eleusis, Athens or Alexandria.

Thymiateria/Thuribles (Plates IX a and b)

Thymiateria are cult vessels used to burn incense. The most common stemmed form consisted of a wide base and a tapering stem which supports a bowl with a separate pierced lid⁶⁶. The bowl held hot charcoal over which incense was sprinkled; the resulting scented smoke escaped through a vented lid. While in use, a vessel could either be carried by the stem or it could sit on its wide base.

Twenty-three fragments of thymiateria were found in the sanctuary at Mytilene, representing at least twelve separate vessels. All are of the stemmed variety. A small number of vessels are rough local products, made from the soft pink clay, but the majority are finer imported products. The thymiateria fragments all preserve decoration, ranging from a simple white slip found on the local products to solid glosses on the imports (Aegean brown/black gloss, Attic black gloss and Pergamene Red Ware). More elaborate banding decoration is also common with alternating red and black or white and black striping on the base and/or stem. The most commonly preserved section of these vessels is the stem, followed by the wide base while only one fragment of a bowl was found.

Of all the votive pottery found in the sanctuary, the thymiateria have the widest range of dates. The majority are from the late fourth or early third century B.C.⁶⁷, but two examples, an Attic black gloss base dating from the fifth century B.C.⁶⁸ and a second century B.C. body fragment in white-ground lagynos ware⁶⁹, demonstrate that this vessel type was in use for a much longer period.

Lamps

A small number of complete lamps and numerous fragmentary examples were found in the sanctuary and an *ex voto* deposit containing over three hundred lamps was

⁶⁶Sparkes and Talcott, 182.

⁶⁷Williams, C., 1990 Study Season, personal communication.

⁶⁸Williams, C., 1990 Study Season. Vessel catalogue number: Myt. 90-I:84.1, P207. The base is similar to Agora v, no. 1351.

⁶⁹Williams, C., Ceramic Catalogue, Myt.87-I.4, P50.

found c 50m to the west. Although this deposit was located outside the proposed sanctuary boundary, it has been tentatively linked to the site because it contained the same miniature vessel types found within the *temenos* (miniature hydriai, miniature kantharoi and the small offering vessels) and the lamps were the same as those found within the sanctuary⁷⁰. The lamps were mass produced locally in Mytilene and consist of a simple open body with a single nozzle, similar to Howland 25B Prime and D Prime⁷¹. Eighty percent of the examples in the deposit were full-size while the rest were miniature versions⁷². All lamps, including the miniatures, showed signs of burning. They had been used at least once before dedication to the goddess.

These lamps indicate that nocturnal festivals were important, but they cannot be used to identify accurately which festival(s) were held in the sanctuary. Many of Demeter's rites contained nocturnal celebrations, including the Stenia, the Thesmophoria, the Haloa and the Greater Mysteries. It is likely that the Mytileneans celebrated at least the Thesmophoria and/or the Stenia; the Haloa and the Mysteries were restricted to Attica (Eleusis).

SMALL FINDS

Terracottas (Plates XIII to XXI)

Three large deposits and numerous fragments of terracotta figurines were found within the area of the sanctuary. A large, slightly disturbed deposit was found on the west side of the sanctuary over the area of the dining hall/*naos*⁷³. A second, smaller and undisturbed deposit, was uncovered near Altar N⁷⁴. The third deposit, found to the north of the western building, was also undisturbed⁷⁵; it consisted of several

⁷⁰The location of this deposit is problematic. It contained all of the same votive vessels as the sanctuary, but if it was associated with Demeter's cult it should have been buried within her sacred ground. This deposit could indicate that the sanctuary was actually very much larger, perhaps situated on two terraces, or it could argue that another sanctuary with similar votives was located down the slope. The problem is compounded by the fact that no associated architecture or cultic material was found in the area.

⁷¹Williams and Toli, 99; Howland, 25B Prime: 74-77, pll. 11, 38-39; 25D Prime: 79-80, pll. 12, 39.

⁷²Williams, Hector, personal communication, 1990 field study at Mytilene.

⁷³Trench Myt. 86-I-2.

⁷⁴Trench Myt. 85-I-1.

⁷⁵Trench Myt. 90-I-4.

complete figurines buried within burned soil. The large number of fragmentary figurines found within the sanctuary suggests that they are the remains of deposits that were dispersed when the sanctuary was leveled.

The majority of the terracottas are made of the local soft, pink clay and enough moulds have been discovered to attest to a local coroplastic industry. Only 10 to 15% of the figurines were imported, most from Pergamon, but also from other unidentified locations⁷⁶. Many of the terracottas were highly decorated, retaining traces of white slip and black, pink, blue and yellow paint⁷⁷.

The figurines can be divided into two basic iconographic groups: secular and those clearly related to the cult in the sanctuary. The secular figures include standing draped females, dancers, standing males and a small number of children and theatrical masks⁷⁸. Draped females were heavily garbed in a chiton and himation, standing more or less frontally and holding their hands at their sides. Many wear wreaths, diadems or veils and have elaborate coiffures. Dancers are always women and are shown wrapped tightly in their voluminous garments. The standing males were portrayed draped or semi-draped, although there are a small number of nudes (Plates XXb, XVIIa and c). Figurines of children are limited in number and poorly preserved, but some types are identifiable, including *disiecta membra* of male and female child worshippers (heads, hands holding a ball or jug, lower legs and feet on bases), a standing boy with a goose (Eros?) from the first century B.C. (a probable intrusion from the Roman level) and a single head with a conical, brimmed *pilos*, a possible example of a crouching boy⁷⁹.

⁷⁶Brynolfson, Carol, 1991, personal communication.

⁷⁷A "double-handed" worshipper, inventory number Myt.84-I.tc13, a female figure holding up both hands in veneration instead of the traditional single hand, retains traces of white slip on the body, black slip on her hair and eyes and pink on the mouth. Myt.89-I.tc534, a double-handed worshipper on display in the new museum in Mytilene, retains traces of: a cream slip, rose madder paint on the waist-band of her *chiton*, dark red paint on the base and yellow ochre on her hair. A fragmentary *hydrophoros*, inventory number Myt. 85 tc 68, retains traces of blue and red.

⁷⁸Although the theatre was not fully secular, representations of theatrical masks are here included in the secular category because as votives, they do not seem to aid in the identification of a specific deity or cult festival.

Webster, 1995, 58-64. The theatral mask motif increased in popularity from c 250 to 150 B.C., appearing in numerous genres of art. They are a common motif on moulded bowls, portrayed along with Eros, seemingly representing festivals and enjoyment in general and not specific plays. This fashion is also seen in jewellery from the same period. The number of terracotta representations of comedians and masks increased in Asia Minor in this period as well, indication an increasing interest in the theatre under the patronage of the wealthy rulers like the Attalids and Ptolomies.

⁷⁹Child figurines from Mytilene Demeter sanctuary include: eleven limbs and torsos, fifty-three heads ranging in date from the fourth century B.C. to the first century B.C. (twenty-five male,

Theatrical masks portray traditional characters, including silen figures, slaves, and a possible representation of Pan⁸⁰. These secular figurine types can be found in virtually all sanctuaries as well as in graves and domestic contexts hence they provide little information about deities honoured or festivals at Mytilene. The gender of the figurine may, however, suggest the gender of the votary. It is, therefore, interesting to note that male figurines, although present in many Demeter sanctuaries, are not found in large numbers, especially when compared to the number of female figurines⁸¹. This pattern recurs at Mytilene where female figurines far outnumber male ones.

Cult-related terracottas include: worshippers, *hydrophoroi*, *hierodouloi*, representations of deities and three types of plaque. There are also single examples of types of terracotta found in other Demeter sanctuaries including a pig, a votive meal, a figure holding a basket (*kiste*) and an *astragalos*.

Worshippers are the most common cult-related figurine in Mytilene (Plates XV and XVI). The worshippers consist of a standing draped female with one hand raised (single-handed) or both hands raised (double-handed), palms held outwards, in the traditional sign of adoration and greeting. If only one hand is raised, it is always the right, while the left is generally down near her side, holding and gently pulling a large fold of himation. Double-handed worshippers are portrayed with both hands held slightly above shoulder height, the himation hanging down from the elbows. These double-handed worshippers have been found only in Demeter sanctuaries in Pergamon⁸², Troy⁸³ and Mytilene. It was a popular style in Pergamon, and reasonably popular in neighbouring Mytilene, but only two examples are known from Troy. It is therefore likely that Pergamon was the artistic source for this type.

sixteen female, thirteen of indeterminate sex including eight miniatures) and a boy holding a goose (Myt.89-I.tc411). There are also six *kourotrophos* figures represented in the corpus.

Hadzisteliou-Price, *BSA* 64, 1969, 95: Statuettes of children crouching on the floor with one knee bent or both legs folded are found in many Demeter sanctuaries, including Halikarnassos, Acrocorinth, Demetrias in Thessaly, Knossos, Malophoros at Selinus and the sanctuary of the Chthonic deities at Agrigento. The identity of these figures is polyvalent, ranging from simple child worshippers, youths serving as temple servants to representations of Harpokrates.

⁸⁰Only thirteen theatrical figurines were inventoried from the sanctuary. Inventory numbers include: Silen/Silenos: Myt.87.I.tc18; Myt.87-I.tc445. Slave: Myt.89-I.tc791. Pan: Myt.89-I.tc38.

⁸¹See Chapter Four, comparative chart *Terracotta Types by Sanctuary*.

⁸²Hepding, 519f. Topperwein, 62-63, pl. 39.

⁸³Thompson, D.B., 1963, 96, 98.

Hydrophoroi are draped female figures holding their right arm up to steady a *hydria* that is carried on their heads (Plate XIV). This figurine type had a special connection with Demeter and her cult. It has been found in her sanctuaries at Mytilene, Pergamon, Troy, Knossos, Priene, Knidos, Halikarnassos, Eleusis, Kos, Hermione, Chios, Tegea and Acrocorinth. *Hydrophoroi* are generally found in the earliest levels of Demeter sanctuaries, surviving as a significant votive type until they fell from popularity after the end of fourth century B.C.⁸⁴

Several fragments of *hierodouloi*, or ‘puppets’ were discovered within the Demeter sanctuary on Mytilene. These are female figurines, usually nude, that often had articulated arms. Their legs could sometimes be articulated as well, but they were frequently moulded together as part of the body. These terracottas were generally in a sitting position, but the seat was moulded separately, so that the purchasers could either buy a seat, provide one of their own for the object or set the figurine in the sanctuary, perhaps on the edge of an offering table, bench or altar. The articulated arms of these figurines suggest that they were made to be handled, possibly being dressed-up in ceremonial garb by children or the votary, before dedication⁸⁵. These figurines were not dedicated to a single deity, although in eastern Greece there was a tendency for them to be associated with Kybele worship⁸⁶.

Terracotta figurines of a small number of deities were found in Demeter’s sanctuary. Kybele representations were the most common, first appearing in the late Archaic or Classical period. The goddess was portrayed enthroned, wearing a tall *polos* and with either a small lion in her lap or with lion-head arm-rests on her throne⁸⁷. Aphrodite and Eros figures appeared in the fourth century. Aphrodite is always portrayed as semi-nude with one leg slightly forward causing the opposite hip to thrust upwards. Her clothes are twisted and pulled across her body below her navel⁸⁸. Eros, Aphrodite’s mischievous companion, is portrayed in a variety of guises (with elaborate wings, holding a torch or rod, riding on an animal), but always as a chubby

⁸⁴Thompson, Thompson and Rotroff, 219.

⁸⁵Thompson, D.B., 1963, 88-89.

⁸⁶*ibid.*, 92.

⁸⁷Thirty fragments of figurines are identified as Kybele. Inventory numbers of examples: Archaic/Classical Myt. 94 tc 4; fourth / third century B.C.: Myt. 86 tc 64; Myt. 89 tc 65; Myt. 94 tc 15; Myt. 94 tc 24;

young boy⁸⁹. A small number of representations of other deities were also found in the sanctuary, including Artemis (holding a quiver or accompanied by an animal, a dog or a deer), Dionysos, Athena, Attis, and bearded Hermes⁹⁰ (Plate XVIIb).

Three types of small relief plaque were found in the sanctuary: *naiskos*, apotropaic eyes and flower⁹¹ (Plates XVIII and XXI). The *naiskos* plaques consist of a frontal view of a shrine, the temple building indicated by two Doric columns and a plain pediment. Two disembodied eyes shown in relief are generally located between the columns. The eyes were also dedicated separately from the plaques. These individual eyes may have been abbreviations of complete examples or were apotropaic offerings in their own right. Flower plaques with holes for suspension were also found in the sanctuary. They generally have a slightly rounded profile and the petals and leaves are shown in relief. In many instances, this plaque type has a small Eros figure in the centre of the flower and examples of such were uncovered in the Demeter sanctuary at Abdera⁹². Only one plaque fragment from Mytilene preserves a small section of such a figure; as the flower plaques from the sanctuary are so fragmentary, it is unclear if such central Eros figures were common in Mytilene or not.

Terracotta representations of pigs, despite their popularity as a sacrificial animal, were seemingly not customary offerings in the sanctuary at Mytilene. Only one small example (Plate XIXc) was found and it may have been part of a larger figurine. A common terracotta dedication in the sanctuary of Demeter in Acrocorinth was a small offering tray in the shape of the *liknon*, a horse-shoe shaped winnowing basket, which

⁸⁸Nine Aphrodite figurines were inventoried from the sanctuary, including Myt. 87.I.tc521 and Myt.85.tc16.

⁸⁹Seventeen Eros figurines were inventoried: Eros holding a rod or torch: Myt. 86-I.tc67; Eros seated on an animal: Myt.90-I.tc457; Eros with a goose: Myt. 90-I.tc280; Eros with elaborate wings: Myt. 85.tc132

⁹⁰K. Sherwood, personal communication, October 1995: Nine Artemis figures were inventoried. Most fragments represent Artemis with a quiver or Artemis with a dog, two portrayals made popular by Diphilos, a late first century B.C. artist working at Myrina.

Dionysos: five fragments, including youthful Dionysos with grapes (Myt.89-I.tc394), bearded head with a top knot, head with garland, fragment with grapes and a section of beard and a head of eastern type (Myt. 87-I.tc58).

Athena: One figure represented: back of helmeted head (Myt.94-I.tc29).

Attis: Three representations of a male figure in eastern dress wearing a pointed hat with ear flaps. The best preserved example is Myt.89-I.tc246 dating to the second century B.C.

Hermes: Three poorly examples were found in the sanctuary, including Myt.90-I.tc421 a miniature Hellenistic example consisting of a torso and lower shaft with an erect phallus.

⁹¹ The plaques averaged between 10 and 15cm square.

⁹²Lazaridi, 1960, plate 3. B54.

was filled with plates holding cakes, fruit and other foods. This object represents a sacred meal or an offering of first-fruits. Only a single example of this terracotta type was found at Mytilene and it differs from the examples found at Acrocorinth because it is round (Plate XIXa). Food offerings on plates surmount the round base, unfortunately they are not well rendered- the offerings resemble fried eggs - precluding identification. This object has a broken base suggesting that it may have originally been part of a larger offering.

A single fragmentary representation of a figure holding a basket was found in the sanctuary in Mytilene⁹³ (Plate XXb). The identity of this figurine is problematic because of the uncertainty of its gender. This figurine is semi-nude and has a soft physique with a mildly protuberant stomach and rounded hips. Drapery angles from right to left, across the hips and it is pulled up partly to conceal a basket which is held with both hands. The head and back are not preserved. Upper body nudity, outside representations of Aphrodite, is generally reserved for adult males or boys, but it is known that priestesses carried *hiera* (sacred objects) in closed *kistai* (baskets or small chests) in the procession from Athens to Eleusis for the Greater Mysteries. If the figurine represents a women, since the Greater Mysteries were not held outside Attica the terracotta may reflect another, possibly local occasion when *hiera* were transported, for example the Thesmophoria. If the figure is a male (a boy ?) it may symbolize a generic procession when gifts or cult paraphernalia were brought to the deity⁹⁴.

Astragaloi, either real bones or representations in clay or metal, are common in sanctuaries of both male and female deities. These objects were owned by men, women and children hence there are many reasons why these objects were offered in sanctuaries. They were used as dice and so a man often dedicated them after a run of good luck. They were a common child's toy, especially among girls, used in a game that resembles the game of 'jacks'. The knucklebones were pierced and strung together on a cord for safe storage. Girls may have offered these toys to a female deity upon puberty or before marriage as a symbolic representation of the departure

⁹³ Inventory Number: Myt. 89-I tc 24.

⁹⁴ If the figurine is a young boy it could be a further example of Eros holding a basket.

from childhood and the attainment of adult female status⁹⁵. Numerous *astragaloi* have been found in the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros in Selinus, in the extramural sanctuary at Cyrene and some have been uncovered in Acrocorinth. Numerous bone *astragaloi*, several pierced, and one terracotta example, were found within the sanctuary of Mytilene (Plate XIXb).

Loom Weights (Plates XXII and XXIII)

Numerous loom weights, used to hold warp threads taut on vertical looms, were excavated in Demeter's sanctuary in Mytilene. All of the examples were made from clay, either by hand or by mould, and each weight was pierced through by one or two holes⁹⁶. Three different types were found: pyramidal, conical and lentoid or discoid. The pyramidal type, however, accounted for the majority of the offerings. Weights ranged in size from a miniature version at 2cm, to a very large version at 15 to 20cm in height, but the majority of the weights were between 10 to 12cm in height. All of the weights were pierced completely through, indicating that they were used before dedication in the sanctuary. The weight of the warp and weft dictated the size of loom-weight required to maintain a proper working tension. Weights from the two ends of the size scale were used to create specialty items; large weights were needed to weave blankets or heavy shawls, while the miniature weights were required for very light fabric such as linen or diaphanous materials. Middle range weights were used to weave the clothes and other materials needed in daily life. Loom weights were important items in the life of every Greek woman as they were used in one of her most important daily tasks. These weights were an intensely personal offering that could be given to any deity but at very little expense⁹⁷.

⁹⁵Simon, C.G. 386.

⁹⁶Dhoga-Toli, Maria, 1: Pyramidal loom weights with a square cross section were usually pierced with one hole, while pyramidal weights with a rectangular cross-section were usually pierced with two.

⁹⁷Loom weights have been found in the Demeter sanctuaries of Knossos (Coldstream, 1973, Chapter VI), Cyrene (Warden, 64-65) and in the deposit from Rizari in Chios town (Chios Prefecture, 25). The Rizari deposit included a loom weight with the dedicatory inscription "NANH ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ".

Marble Weights (Plate XXIII)

Newton uncovered fourteen objects in the Demeter sanctuary at Knidos which he thought could be either official weights or votive offerings⁹⁸. These objects consisted of a plinth, surmounted by pair of rounded mounds which were attached to each other by an arching handle. All the objects were made of white marble and most retained traces of a thick paint. A very similar object was uncovered in the Demeter sanctuary at Mytilene. It consists of a brick-shaped plinth 20cm long and 8.5cm wide. Two mounds are placed symmetrically on the top of the plinth but, unlike the examples from Knidos, there is no connecting handle. The whole object is made of white marble, smoothed but not polished, and there are traces of blue and red paint preserved in two small grooves located between the mounds.

The purpose of these object is unclear. The Mytilene example was unfortunately found in a mixed earthquake destruction level of the Turkish period. Its location and slightly battered condition imply that it had been re-used, probably in a Turkish wall. Only the similarity of this object to those found by Newton indicates that it may originally have been from the Demeter sanctuary. Newton found a series of these objects, all in varying sizes, causing the hypothesis they may have been official weights⁹⁹.

Defixiones

Throughout the Greek world, *defixiones* were deposited in graves and dedicated to chthonic deities from the beginning of the fifth century B.C. through to the fifth or sixth century A.D¹⁰⁰. They are made of a thin, generally rectangular, sheet of lead which was inscribed with a curse and then deposited. It was hoped that chthonic spirits would fulfil the curse and exact revenge for the suppliant. Women often used these objects in an attempt to gain restitution for wrongs done to them because they did not have easy access to the law courts. Men also used the tablets to obtain

⁹⁸Newton, 1862, 2.1, 386.

⁹⁹Newton, 1862, 2.1, 387 and Appendix. The objects "on testing them in the scales, ... exhibited certain relative proportions.."

¹⁰⁰Jordan, 1996, 1.

compensation for petty grievances that were not worthy to be brought to court or to influence the outcome of specific incident such as a sporting event¹⁰¹.

Three *defixiones* were found in Demeter's sanctuary in Mytilene. They lay near Altars J and N and were associated with pottery from the fourth and third centuries B.C. The lead sheets were folded inwards, hiding the written contents from casual observers. One tablet was further pierced by a large bronze nail. Each tablet consisted of a list of names. D. Jordan examined the tablets and discovered that the same writer was responsible for all three tablets and the closing formula suggested an upcoming lawsuit¹⁰². The names were possibly a list of jurors and the dedicator was attempting to influence them before the case came to trial¹⁰³.

FAUNAL REMAINS

The Hellenistic Period

There are two categories of faunal remains from the Hellenistic period in the Demeter sanctuary. The first consists of the large quantity of bone which was found across the site but did not exhibit any spatial patterns. This material was probably scattered when the sanctuary was levelled. Species identified include: Sus scrofa (pig), Capra hircus (goat), Ovis aries (sheep), Leporidae (rabbits and hares), Aves species (birds), Osteichthyes (boney fish), and Pelecypodia (clams and oysters).

The second, and more important, category is the single deposit of bone and ash found within the exedra of Altar J. This material was stratified indicating that more than one immolation was represented while staining on the surrounding retaining wall indicates that the burning was done *in situ*¹⁰⁴. Bone was charred and calcined from exposure to

¹⁰¹Gager, 18 and n. 91. *Defixiones* asking for the success of certain athletes and horses have been discovered buried at the starting line in stadiums. Tablets with curses have been found in the courtyards of private houses and businesses. They have also been discovered in wells, dropped down to ensure that they were noticed by chthonic deities.

¹⁰²Jordan, 1996, 5. One example reads: "Dies, Damocharis, Melon, Dionysios, Peithidamos, and whoever else (is) with them."

¹⁰³Williams, Hector, 1990, BCMI 4. AR 1990-91, 62. Jordan, 4-5. See n. 20.

¹⁰⁴ Cronkite, 1993, unpublished field report. Pemberton, 96-97. The practice of burning large numbers of piglets in a single pit is also attested in the Demeter sanctuary at Acrocorinth. There, however, the sacrificial pits were not attached to the main sanctuary altar and they were not stratified, suggesting single use or that they were cleared out after each use.

intense heat, but sufficient material was preserved to allow identification. The main species represented in the deposit included: young Sus scrofa (pig), Ovis aries (sheep) and/or Capra hircus (goat)¹⁰⁵. Piglet bone formed the majority of the material, with a ratio of 30:1 piglet to sheep/goat. This faunal material supplies evidence for three different sacrificial practices within Altar J alone¹⁰⁶.

Archaic/Classical Levels

Archaic and Classical levels are not very well represented in the sanctuary. A Classical level was present across the whole of the site, but it was very thin, while the Archaic period was represented only by isolated pockets, mostly found among bedrock outcroppings. Only a small quantity of faunal material was recovered. Species from these two levels included: Sus scrofa, Ovis aries, and Capra hircus, again, as in the Hellenistic level, the largest proportion of the skeletal remains were from suids¹⁰⁷. The remains, however, differed from the Hellenistic material in that the animals were older, almost adult, instead of a pre- and post-natal age.

DEMETER IN MYTILENE: THE SANCTUARY CHRONOLOGY

The Archaic Period

Fragments of andesite architectural elements dating from the last third of the sixth century B.C. indicate that cultic activity was well established on the acropolis in Mytilene by the Archaic period¹⁰⁸. Ionic and Doric column fragments, a section of an horizontally fluted base and a piece of bead and reel moulding were found resting on and between bedrock outcroppings. These preserved fragments are large, suggesting that a temple or other stone structure was located on the acropolis, but not necessarily

¹⁰⁵Ruscillo, 1991, 12: A few unidentified Aves (bird) species (Galliforms, possibly chicken or turkey) and Osteichthyies (boney fish) were also included in the deposit.

¹⁰⁶See Chapter Six for further discussion of these sacrificial practices.

¹⁰⁷Ruscillo, 1991, 9.

¹⁰⁸Williams, H., 1990, EMC 186.

in the area of the Demeter sanctuary¹⁰⁹. Unfortunately, it is impossible to link the architectural pieces to any *temenos* or deity.

The first evidence for cult practices that may, very tentatively, be linked to Demeter also dates to the Archaic period; votive terracotta figurines of enthroned females and of standing, draped votaries carrying torches were found among the rough bedrock outcrops (Plates XII and XIII)¹¹⁰. The scanty faunal material consisted of suids and small quantities of juvenile ovicaprid (sheep/goat).

It is unwise to accept these few early terracottas and sacrificial offerings as indisputable evidence of Demeter worship, but they do imply that the deity who was venerated in the area was both female and chthonic in nature. Greek religion was very traditional, and once a deity was established in a location it is very rare that he/she was relocated. It must, however, be stressed that other deities could also receive similar offerings, for example, Hera, Artemis and Kybele.

Classical Period

There is sufficient evidence from the Classical period to suggest that Demeter was the main deity worshipped in the sanctuary. Pottery (domestic and cult-related) and terracottas found within the site are precursors of those from the fourth century sanctuary; Classical pottery includes Attic black gloss dining wares (fragments of salt cellars, kantharoi, skyphoi, fish plates and echinus bowls) and cultic vessels, including a black gloss thymiaterion base. The terracotta types include *hydrophoroi* and torch bearers, both common artifacts in the later sanctuary. Faunal remains, the majority of which were suids, while the remainder were ovicaprids, also imply that Demeter's cult was strong and that her followers were actively donating votives.

¹⁰⁹The presence of the architectural fragments does not necessarily indicate that a temple, stoa or other large stone structure was located in the area of the sanctuary of Demeter. Most of the fragments showed evidence of re-use, i.e. they were shaped into squared blocks and many of the flutes had been flattened. It is probable that the building was located somewhere on the acropolis as it is unlikely the fragments would have been carried far from their original position.

¹¹⁰Torch Bearer Inventory Numbers: Myt. 89 tc 828; Myt. 90 tc 338.

Seventeen Archaic/Classical figurines of deities were discovered in the sanctuary. The majority date from the fifth century, but a few have been dated to the late sixth century (this material is presently being studied by K. Sherwood in preparation for publication) Inventory numbers include: Myt. 86-I.tc87, Myt.89-I.tc54 and Myt.90-I.tc201.

It is, however, important to note that Kybele representations also first appear in this period, starting a pattern of occasional terracotta offerings that was maintained throughout the history of the sanctuary. The pottery and faunal remains do *not* suggest that Kybele, rather than Demeter, was the main goddess of the sanctuary, but they do indicate that this eastern fertility deity was active and a potential influence on the early Demeter cult¹¹¹. It is not known if these early offerings indicate a partial syncretism of the two deities and the votives were thought to be interchangeable, or if it was acceptable to give offerings to Kybele in Demeter's sanctuary.

Late fourth century to the first half of the third century B.C.

The Demeter sanctuary flourished in the late fourth century and first half of the third century B.C. Numerous terracotta figurine votive offerings and the bulk of the pottery, including dining wares, plain wares and the large lamp deposit all date from this period¹¹². Architecture, including the altars and the dining hall/*naos*, appear at this time¹¹³, while the three offering vessels found *in situ* in the *bothros* indicate that it too was in use. The quantity of domestic wares and votives attest that the cult was popular and active and that large numbers of people attended the feasts and nocturnal rites.

Late Third and Second centuries B.C.

The late third and second centuries B.C. saw a change in the cult practised in the Demeter sanctuary. Pottery deposition does not stop, but it is drastically reduced, implying that feasting was dramatically curtailed, or even ceased altogether. There was, however, a contemporaneous substantial increase in the number of votive terracotta figurines; the majority of the total number of figurines from the sanctuary date from this period. There is also evidence for a physical decline in the architecture of the sanctuary. The largest terracotta deposit was found spread partially over the cross-wall and north-western side wall of the dining hall/*naos*, indicating that at least

¹¹¹Chatzi, 515-517. An Archaic structure in the Epano Skala to the north of the acropolis has been tentatively identified as a sanctuary of Kybele. See Chapter Five, n. 4 for further discussion.

¹¹²Williams and Toli, 1990, 101. Williams, C., personal communication, Mytilene Study season, 1991.

¹¹³The presence of fragments of Classical roof tiles suggests there may have been structures on the site that preceded those of the third century B.C.

this room of the structure was no longer standing. The sanctuary entered a time of change and possibly of decline, a period when a more personal or individual worship may have supplanted the *polis*-organized communal feasts.

Roman Era

A deep layer of Roman material overlay Demeter's sanctuary. Artifacts from this level seem to indicate that the sanctuary had been razed by the first century A.D. and this stratum was laid down as levelling across the whole of the area¹¹⁴. There is, however, no evidence to indicate *when* the sanctuary went out of use. It is thought that the sanctuary was leveled before the Roman material was laid down, but it is not clear if the sanctuary had been abandoned for many years before it was leveled or if it went out of use immediately before it was demolished. The sanctuary area may have stayed in use with hypaethral festivals or the cult may have ceased altogether in this specific location, possibly moving elsewhere on the acropolis.

FESTIVALS

Mytilene had a small and functional Demeter sanctuary¹¹⁵. It probably contained neither stoas nor stepped viewing areas for watching festivals or theatricals; structures of that type were generally features of large sanctuaries. Mytilene's sanctuary was, however, well attended. Abundant pottery and votive offerings and the multiple altars testify to a large number of worshippers¹¹⁶. The sanctuary was the size necessary to serve the needs of Mytilene town and perhaps the *polis* as well.

The hearth altar, *bothroi* and lamps indicate that the primary festival celebrated on the acropolis was chthonic and nocturnal. Floral and faunal remains (carbonized grain and

¹¹⁴Williams, C. and Dr. J. Price, University of Durham, personal communication June 18, 1995; Cronkite, S., 1994 Excavation Notebook (unpublished). Joins have been found among pottery sherds from separate areas and depths of the Roman level. Further evidence of the nature of the stratum was provided by a small trench opened in 1994. Meticulous excavation allowed separate dumps of earth and pottery to be separated showing that large buckets or loads of material were dumped and then eventually blended when the area was levelled out.

¹¹⁵ See Chapter Six for a detailed examination of the sanctuary and its festivals.

¹¹⁶Yavis, 53. The sanctuary contained seven altars, six of which were possibly contemporary and the central hearth altar measured 7m in length. Yavis theorises that "the size of the altar varies roughly in proportion to the number of celebrants."

suids¹¹⁷) connect the cult with agriculture and fertility concerns. The terracotta figurines, if the gender of the offering indicates the gender of the votary, imply that the majority of the worshippers were women. All these preserved remains suggest that the primary festival held in this sanctuary was the Thesmophoria, the most commonly attested Demeter festival of the Greek world¹¹⁸.

Mytilene's sanctuary may have been the Thesmophorion, but the non-chthonic prothesis altar within the sanctuary suggests that other Demeter festivals may also have been held within its boundaries. The Piraeus inscription, IG II² 1177, 8, illustrates that a Thesmophorion was not necessarily limited to the celebration of that one specific festival; it states that the women of the town gathered at the Thesmophorion to celebrate the Proerosia, an agricultural fertility festival held before the first ploughing of the growing year. Excavations at Thasos show that there the Thesmophorion and the sanctuary of the Patrooi were physically combined, although there may have been a division of land use so that each cult was celebrated within a specific area¹¹⁹. In Mytilene, there is no conclusive evidence to indicate what, if any, other festivals were held in the sanctuary, but the presence of foetal pig bone suggests the possibility that Demeter Chlōe was also receiving offerings there. Two inscriptions, one from Marathon¹²⁰ and one from Mykonos¹²¹, document the sacrifice of pregnant sows to Demeter Chlōe. Little is known about the cult of Demeter Chlōe but her epithet indicates that she was concerned with the 'greening' or 'first growth'

¹¹⁷Bevan, 68. The pig as a sacrificial animal was acceptable for most deities, but most popular for chthonic deities, especially Demeter. Suids played a major role in Demeter festivals, including the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Thesmophoria. According to Pausanias ix 8, 1, during the Thesmophoria pigs were thrown into a pit or 'megaron'. Their rotted remains were later retrieved and then mixed with grain to ensure good crop growth in the next growing season. Pig bone has been discovered in the Demeter sanctuaries of Knidos (Newton, 1862, History 2, 390-91; British Museum Registration of Antiquities, 1859, Catalogue Number 832) Acrocorinth (Bookidis, 1965, 10, 12.) Knossos (Coldstream, 177) and Cyrene (Crabtree and Monge, 1981, 24) and are the most common faunal material found in the sanctuary of Mytilene.

The fact that complete suid bone assemblages are represented helps to support the hypothesis the site was a Thesmophorion, the most common vehicle for chthonic Demeter cult. Sacrifices to chthonic deities required the complete, unbutchered animal, while sacrifices to Olympian deities consisted of entrails, fat and bones if desired.

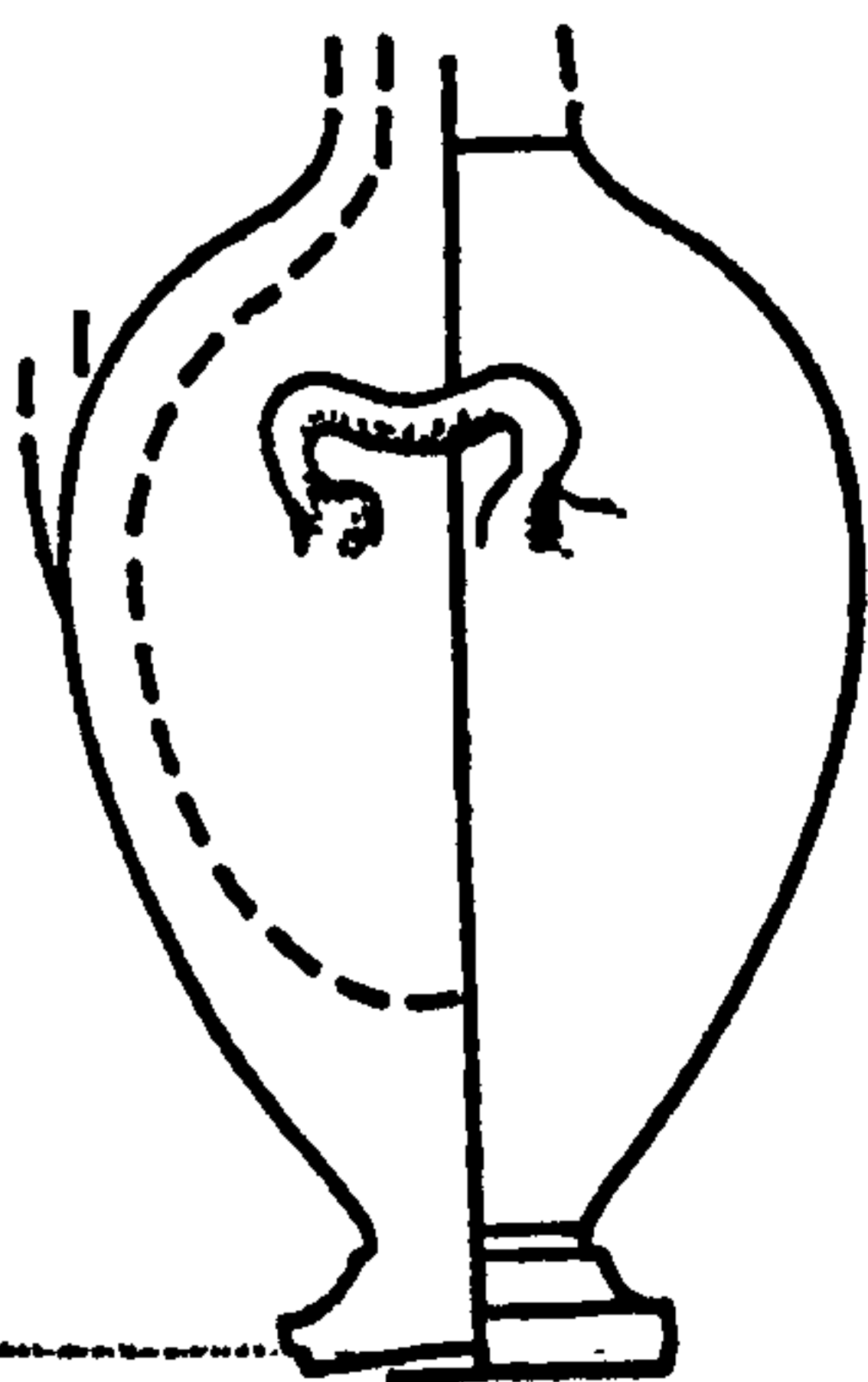
¹¹⁸The Thesmophoria was celebrated in: Abdera, Aegina, Aigila, Agrai, Alexandria, Aphytis(?), Aptera(?), Arsinoeia(?), Athens, Bitalemi, Cyrene, Delos, Drymaia, Eleusis, Ephesos, Eretria(?), Erythrai, Eutresis(?), Grigori Korfi(?), Halimous, Iasos(?), Koroneia, Megalopolis, Megara, Miletos, Myasion, Mykonos, Mytilene, Grotta, Paros, Pellene, Pergamon(?), Phaleron, Pheneos, Potniai, Priene, Rhodes, Sikyon, Smyrna, Syracuse, Thasos, Thebes, Troizen, Xobourgo and Troy(?).

¹¹⁹Rolley, 1965, 463ff.

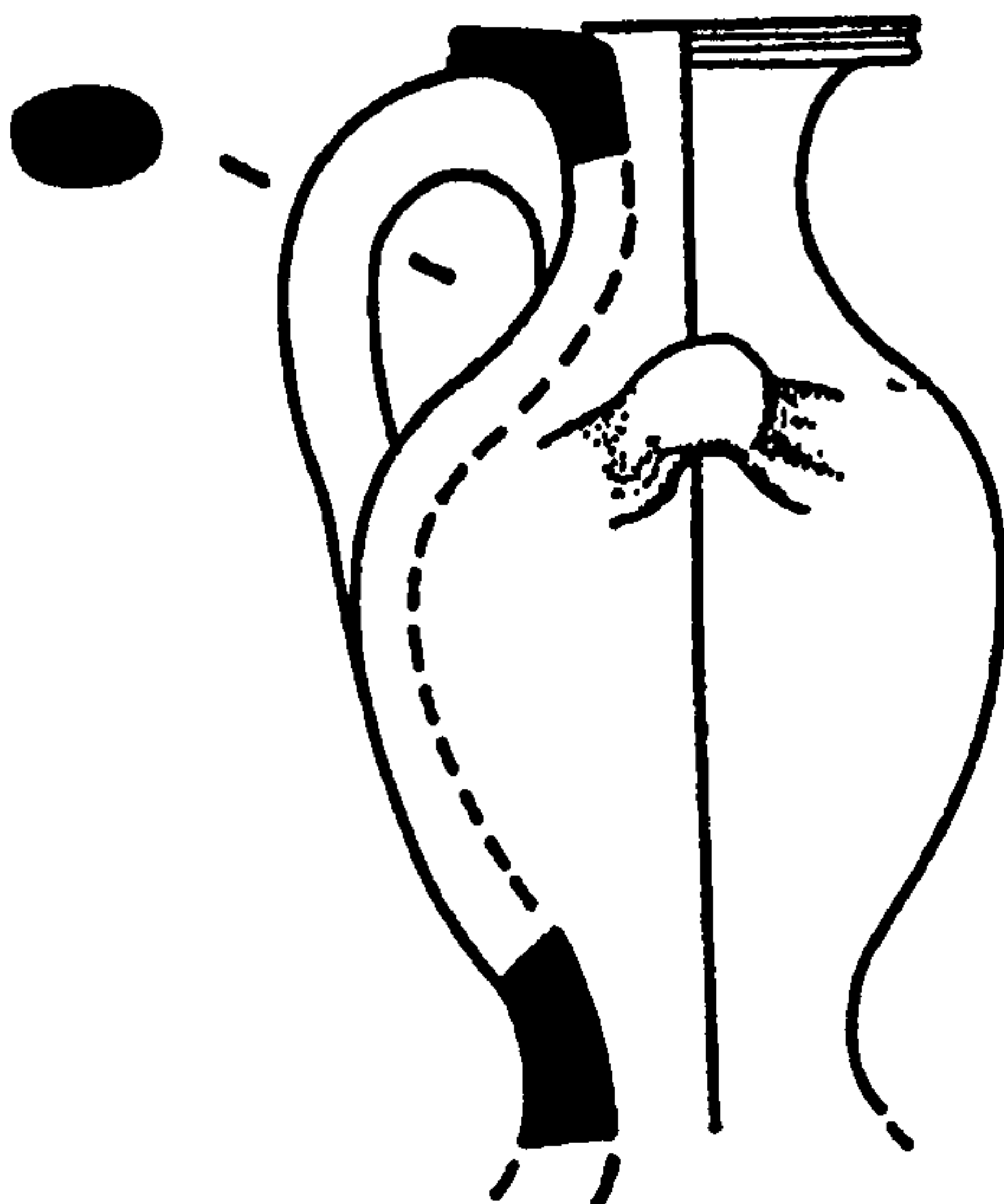
¹²⁰Marathon Calendar IG II² 1358b, 43ff.

presumably of new seed grain at a very critical period in its growing cycle. Optimum weather conditions were required to ensure ample food for the coming year and it is assumed that Demeter received offerings in the hope that these conditions would be achieved and the very tender crops would survive and become hardy. There is a possibility that Demeter Chlōe was also concerned with infants. She was given offerings as a *Kourotrophos* in order to ensure that babies survived their early childhood, their 'greening' period, a critical time in their life span. Other festivals in Demeter's religious calendar may also have been held in the Mytilene Thesmophorion, including unknown local traditional rites.

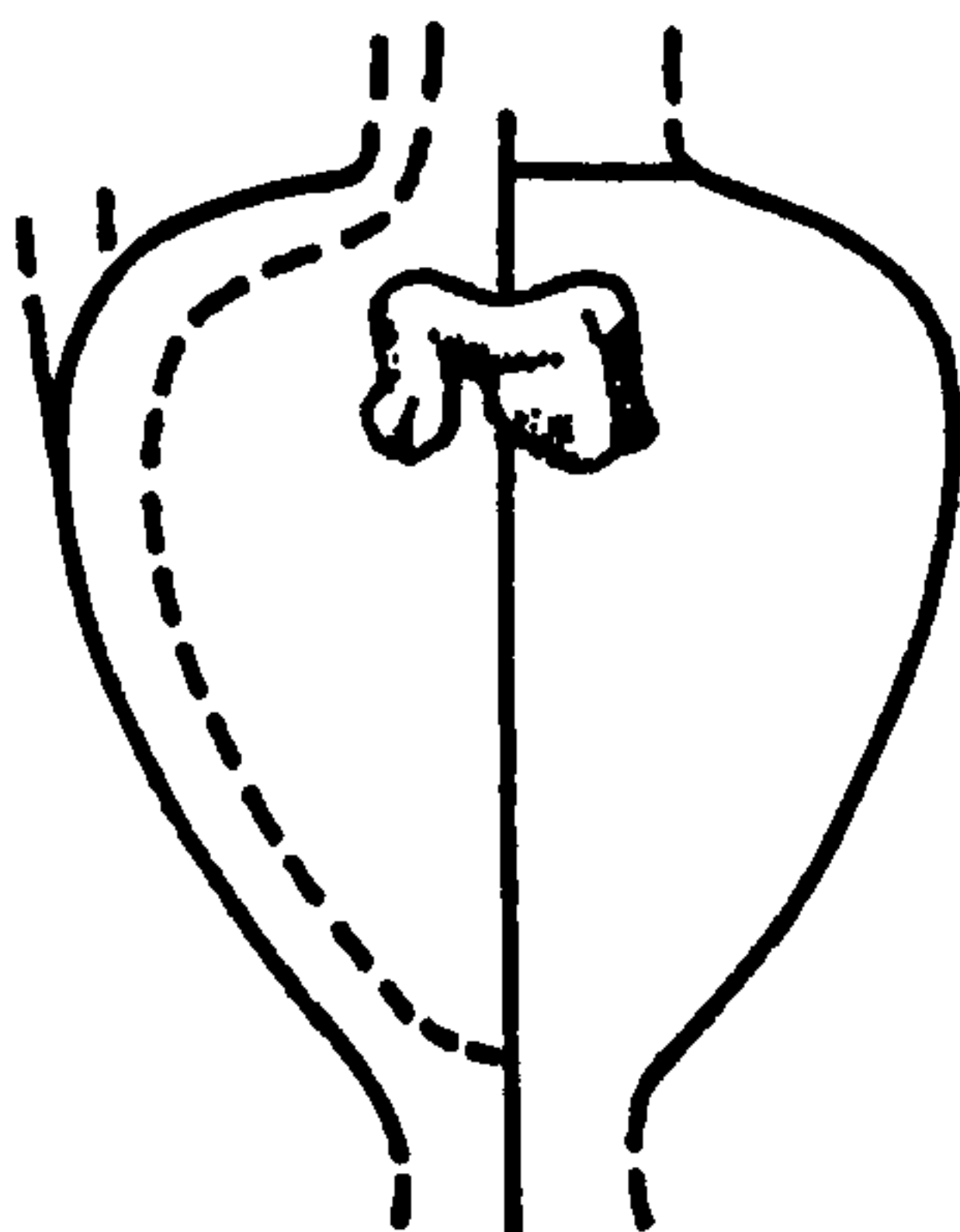
¹²¹ SIG 1024, 11-15.



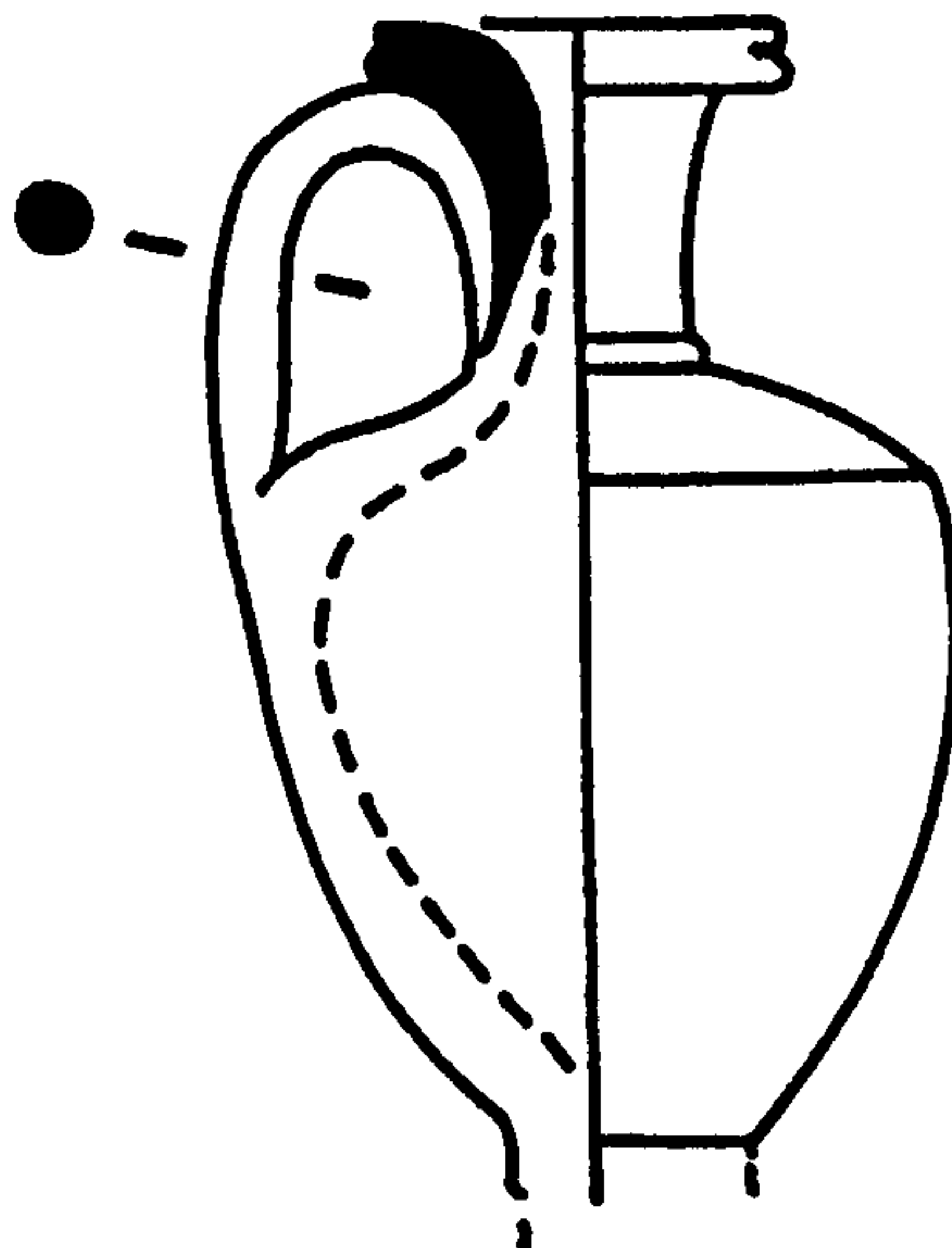
a. Myt. 89 I-P291



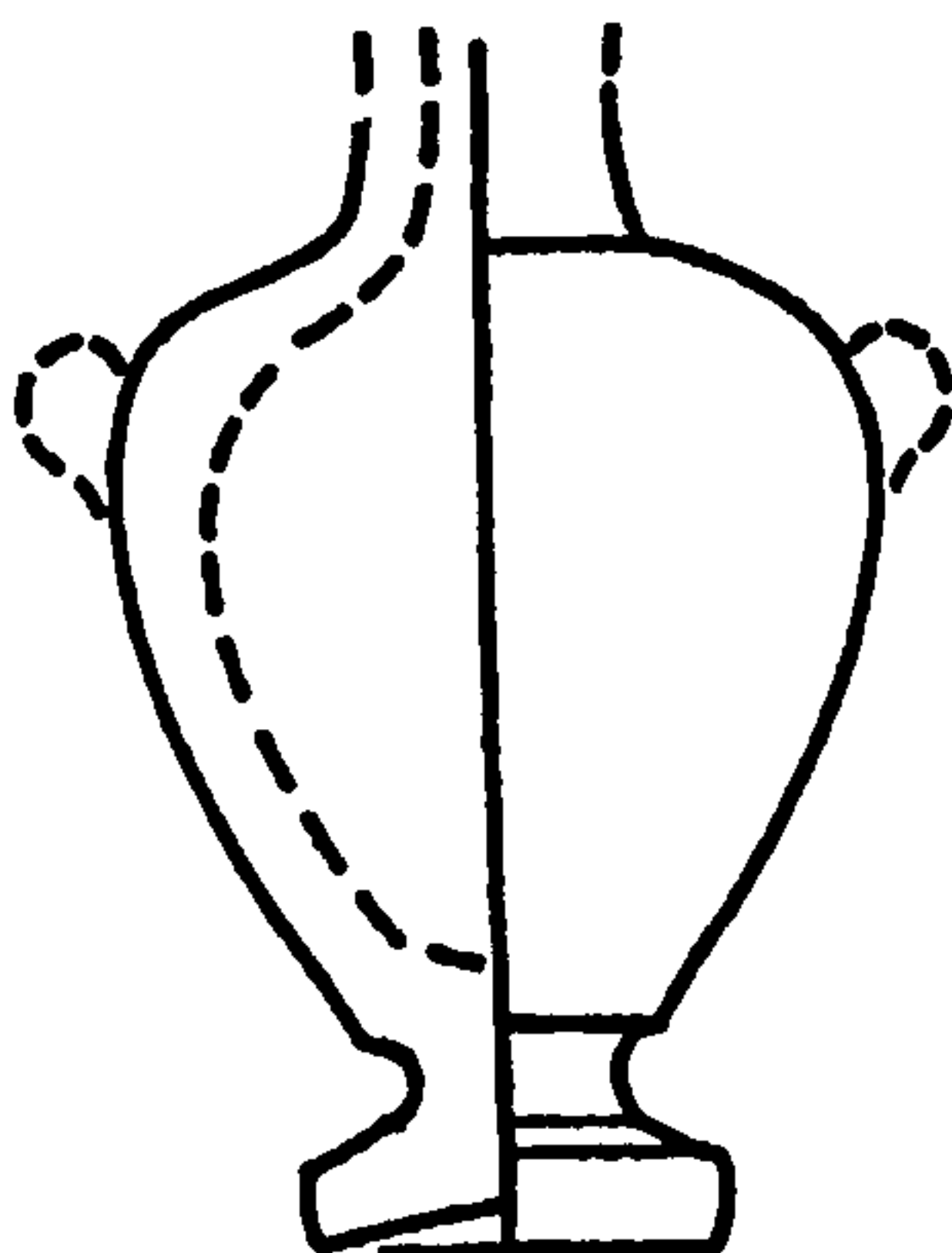
b. Myt. 89 I-P467



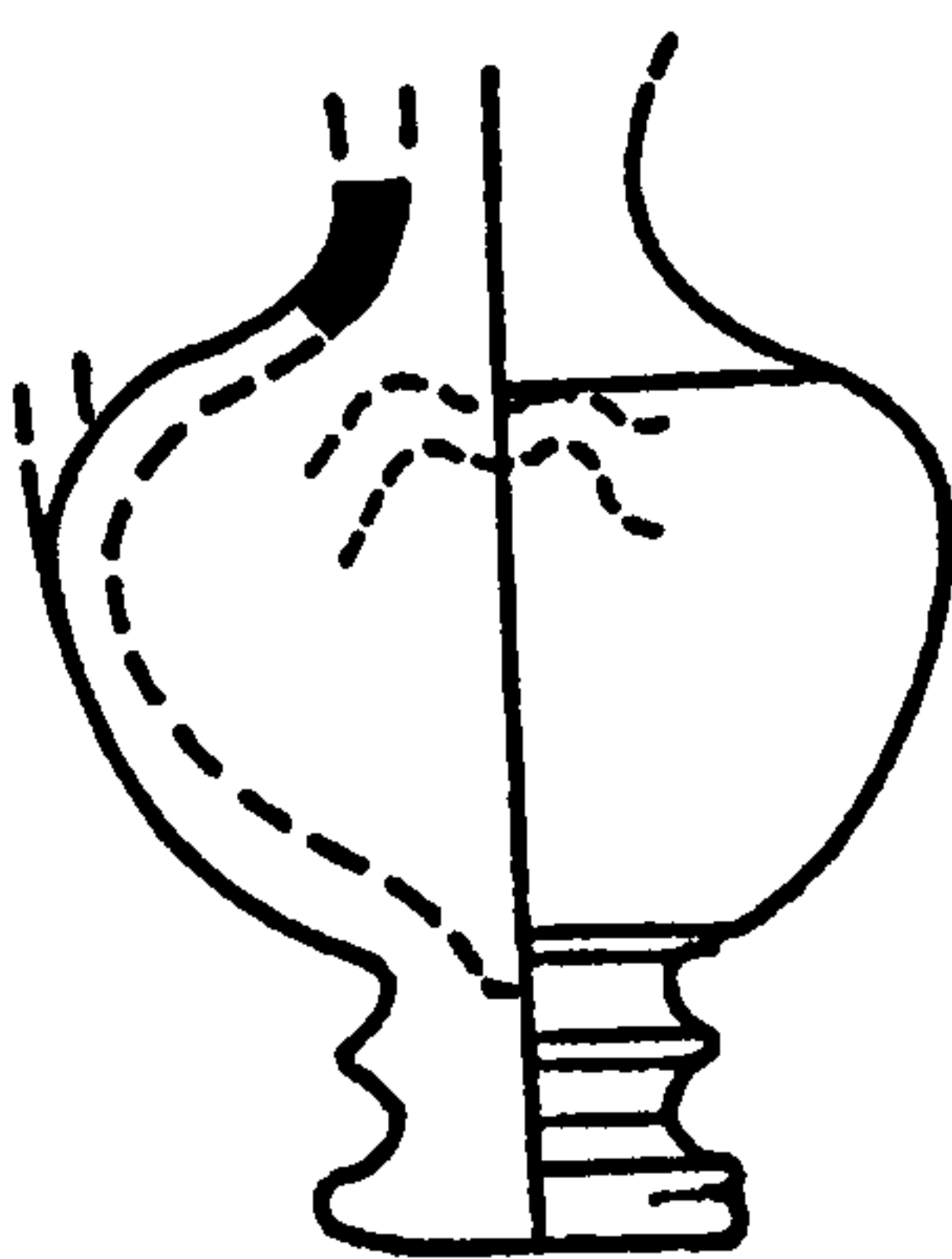
c. Myt. 89 I-P418



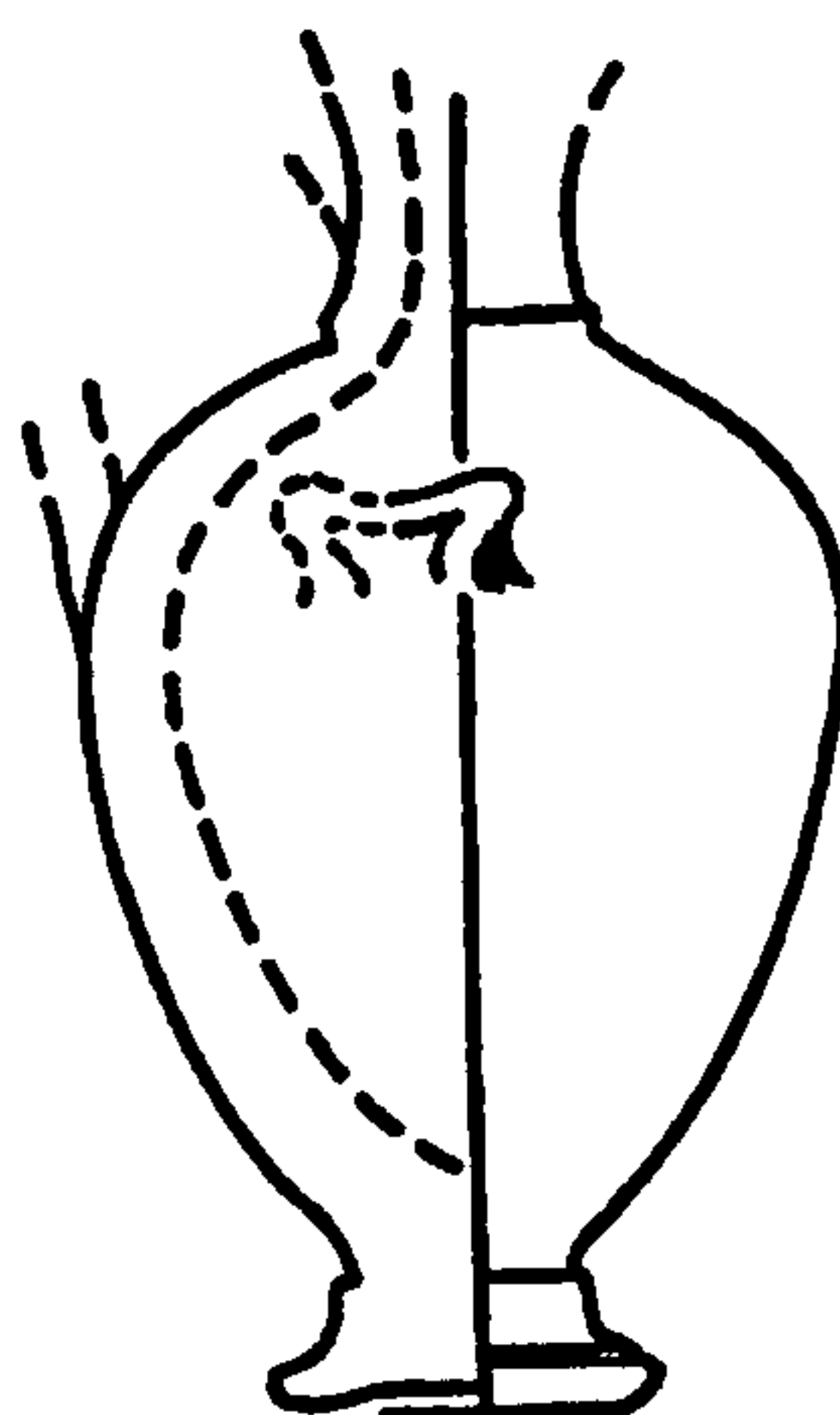
d. Myt. 90 I-P163



e. Myt. 89 I-P419



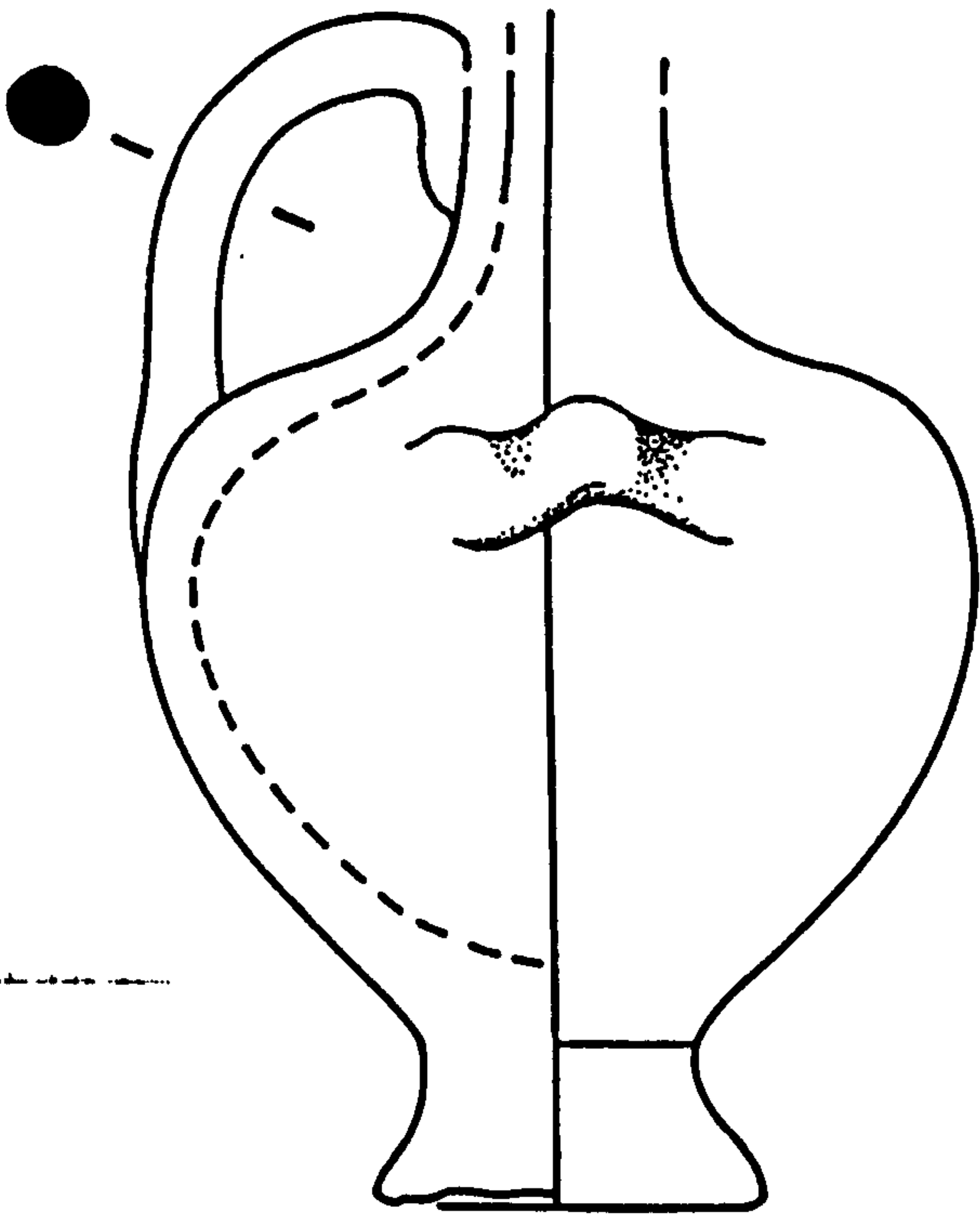
f. Myt. 90 I-P226



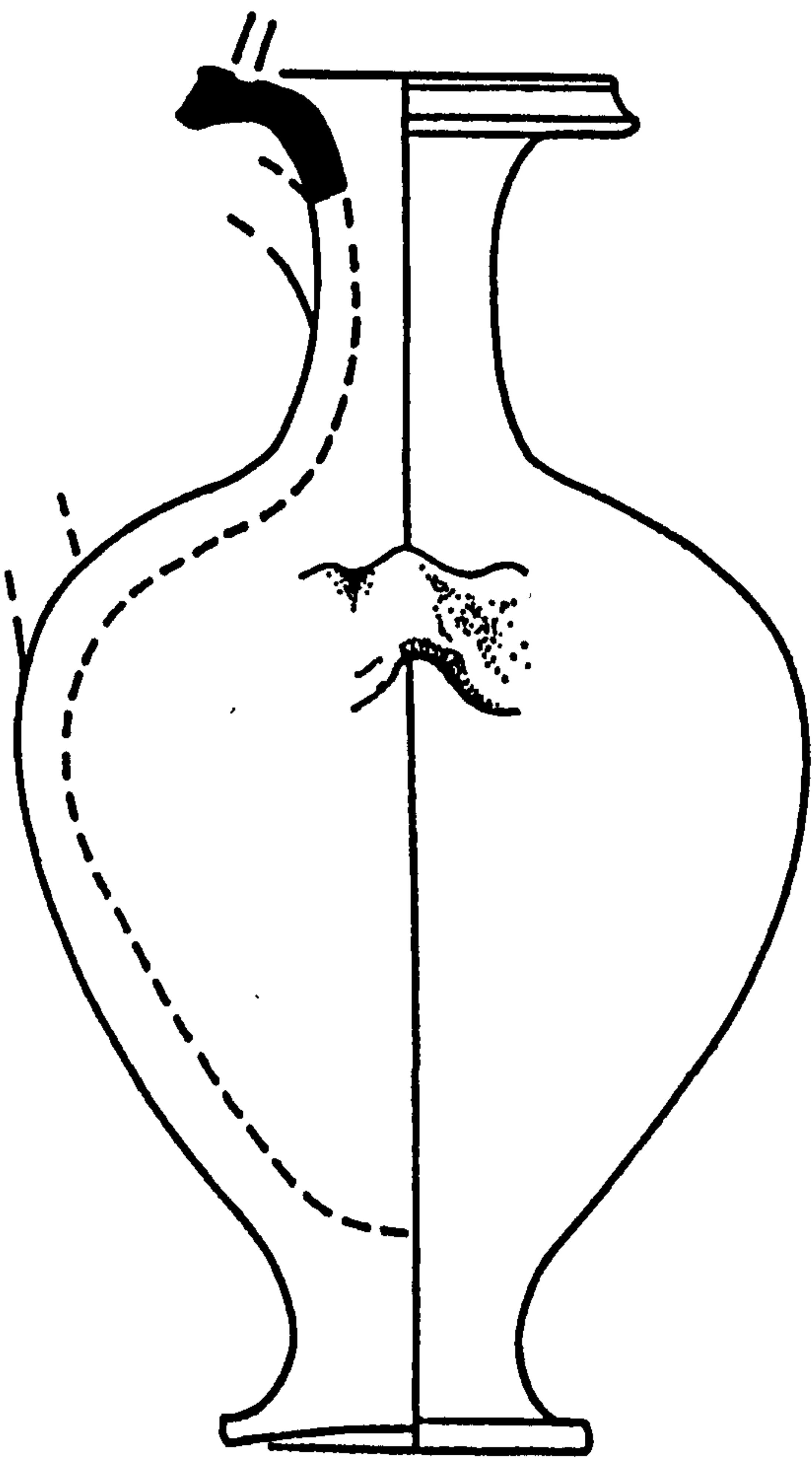
g. Myt. 89 I-P292

Scale 1:1

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Miniature Hydriai



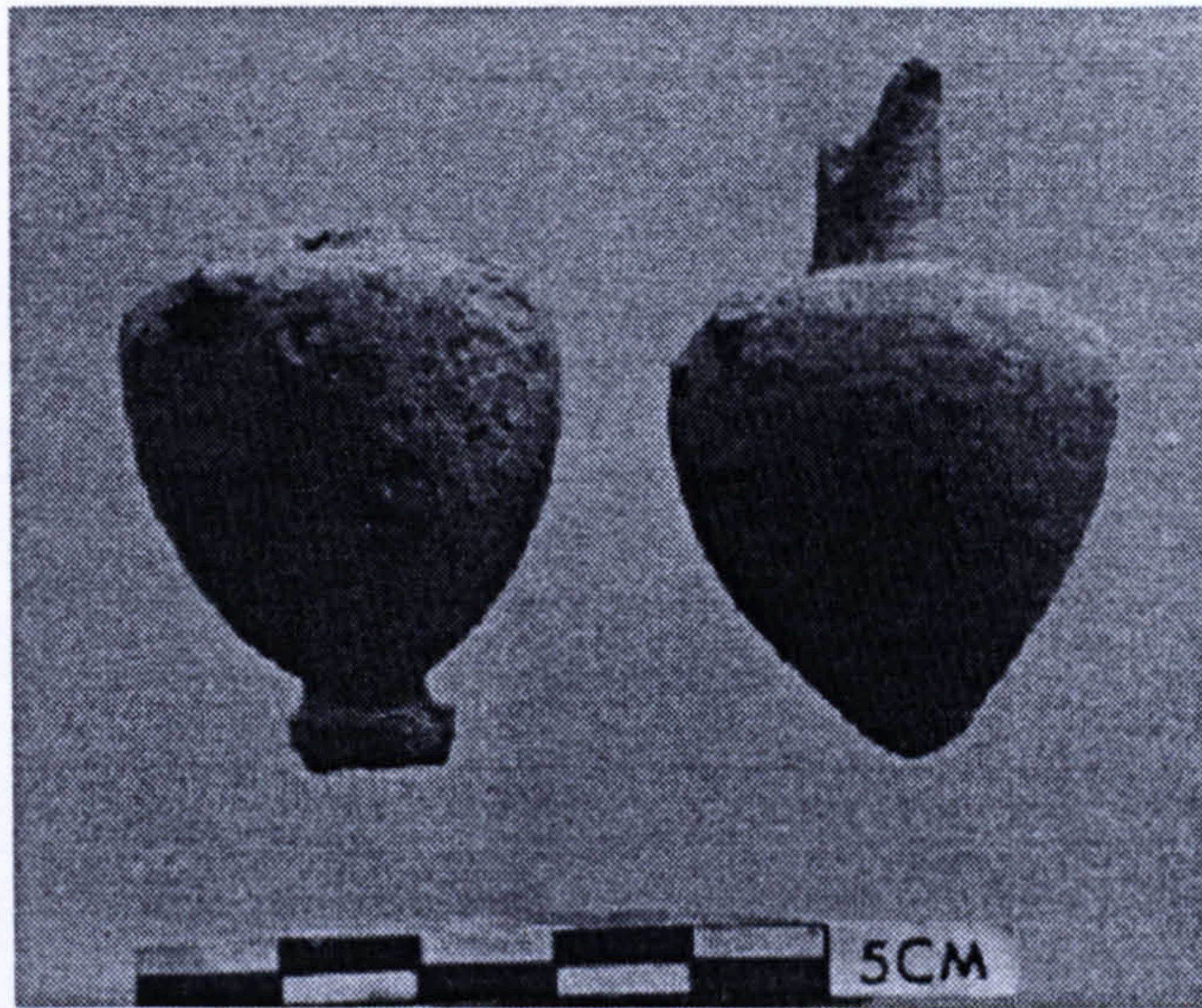
a. Myt. 90 I-P80



b. Myt. 90 I-P80

Scale 1:1

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Miniature Hydriai, Medium Size



R. Myt. 90 I-P316. L. Myt. 90 I-P317



b.

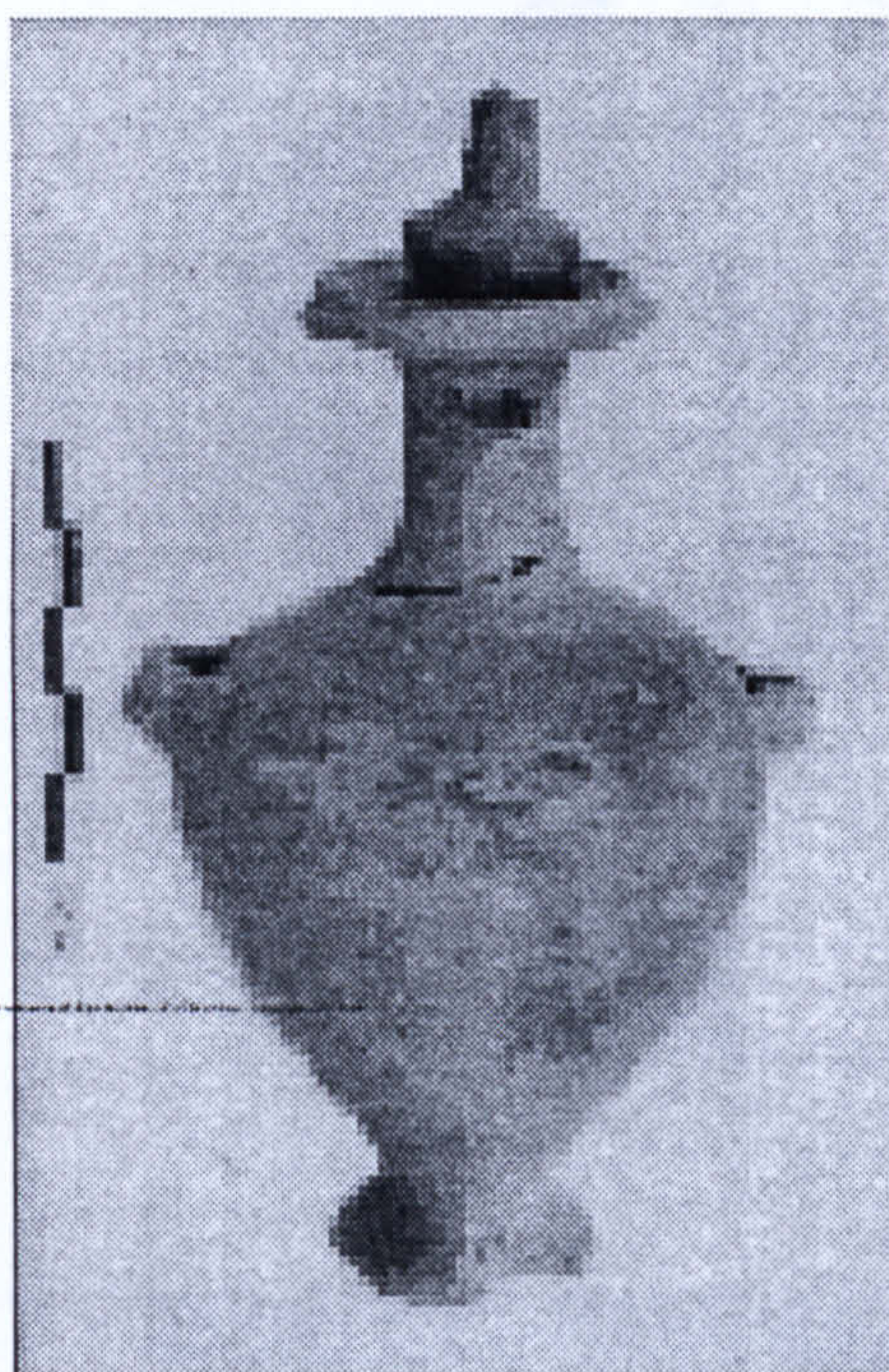
Myt. 90 I, area 2



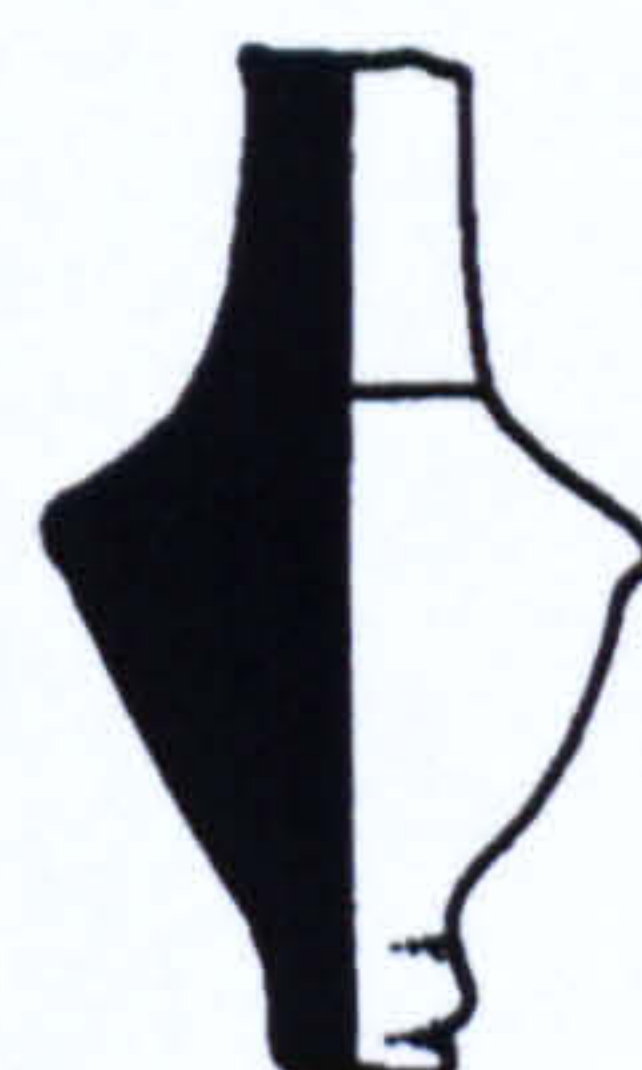
c.

Myt. 90 I, area 1

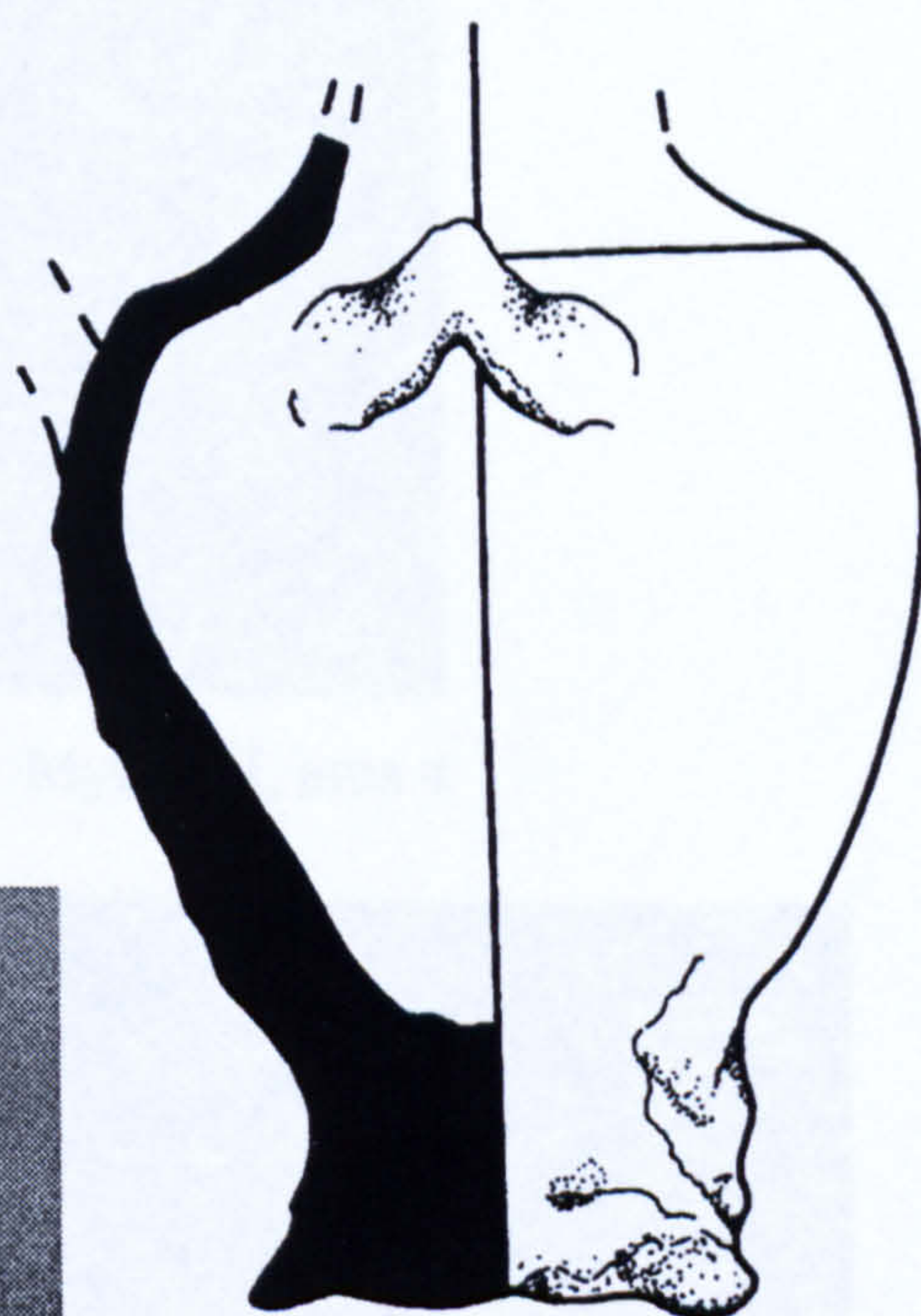
Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Comparison of Miniature Hydriai



a. Myt. 89 I-P420a



b. Myt. 89 I-P420b



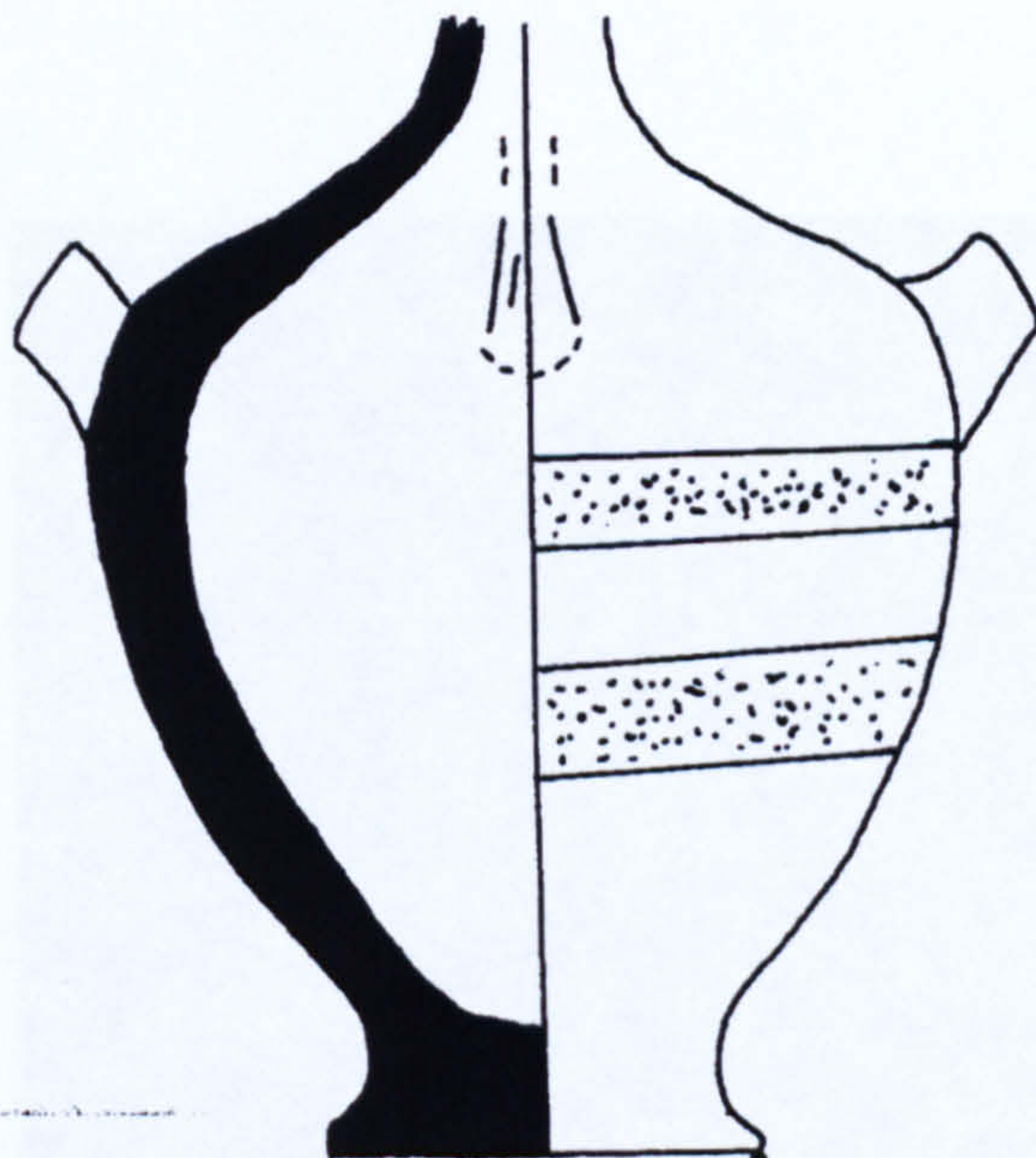
d. Myt. 89 I-P488



c. Fine - Myt. 90 P317

Scale 1:1

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Comparison of Miniature Hydriai



Scale 1:1

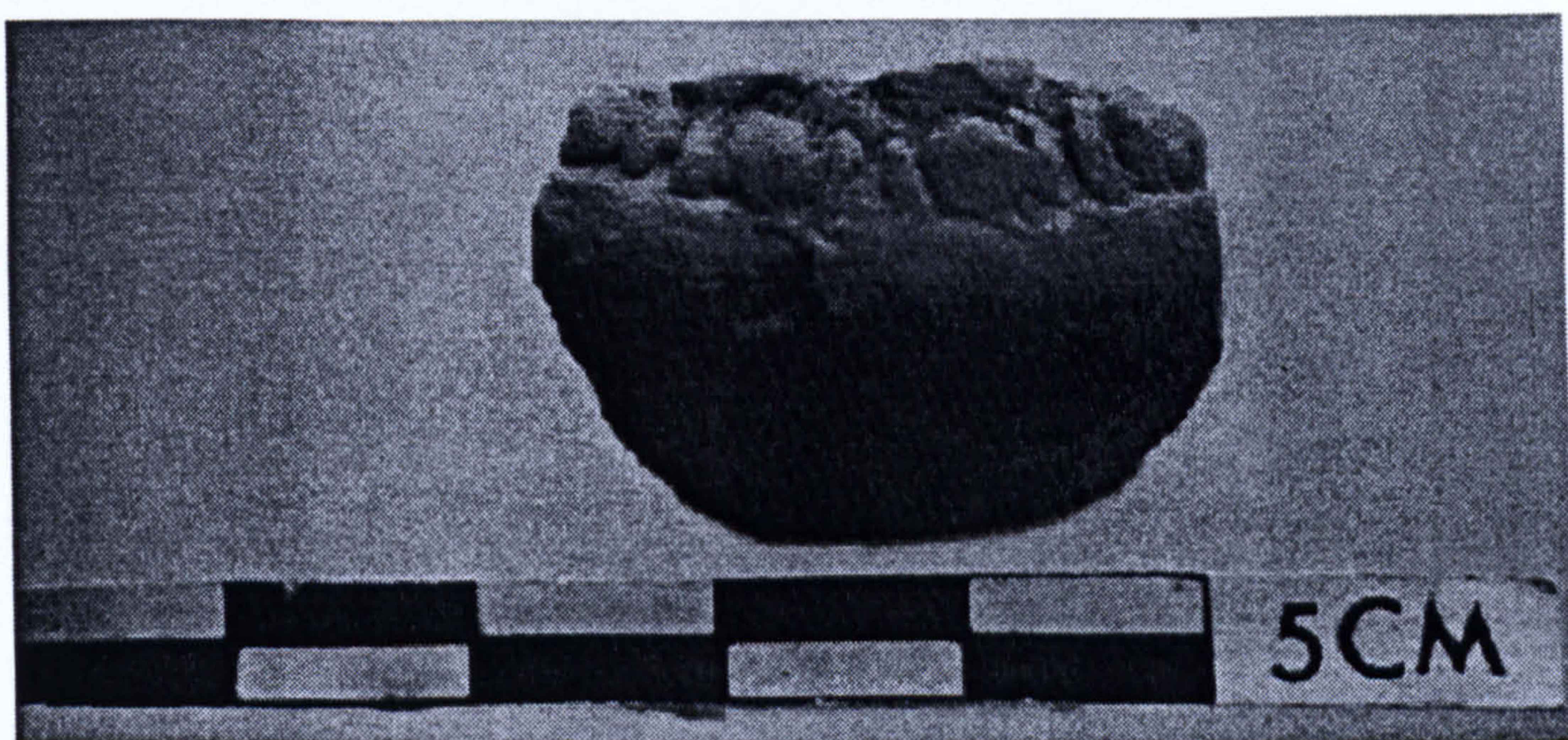
a.

Myt. 86 I-P2



b.

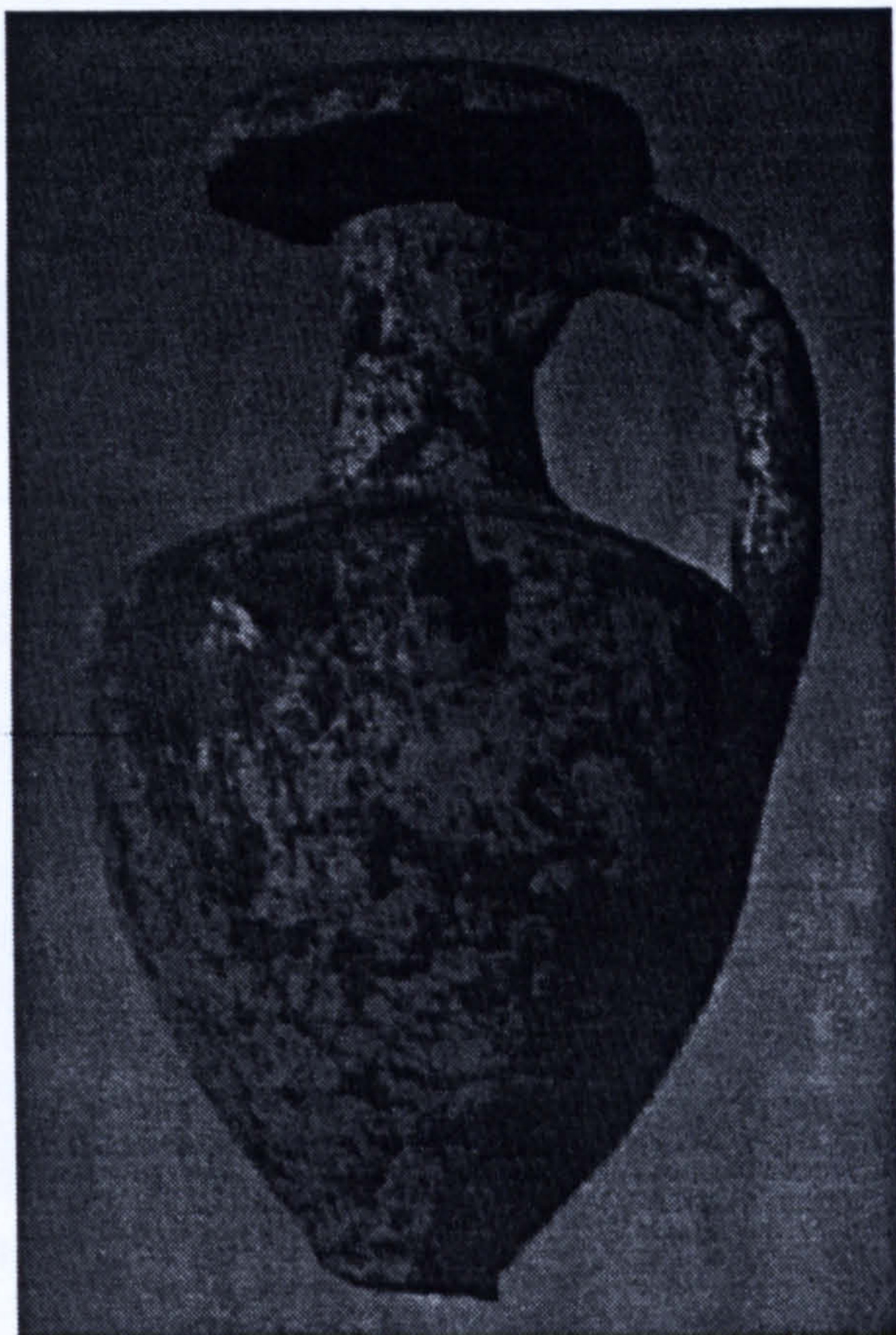
Myt. 90 I, area 4



c.

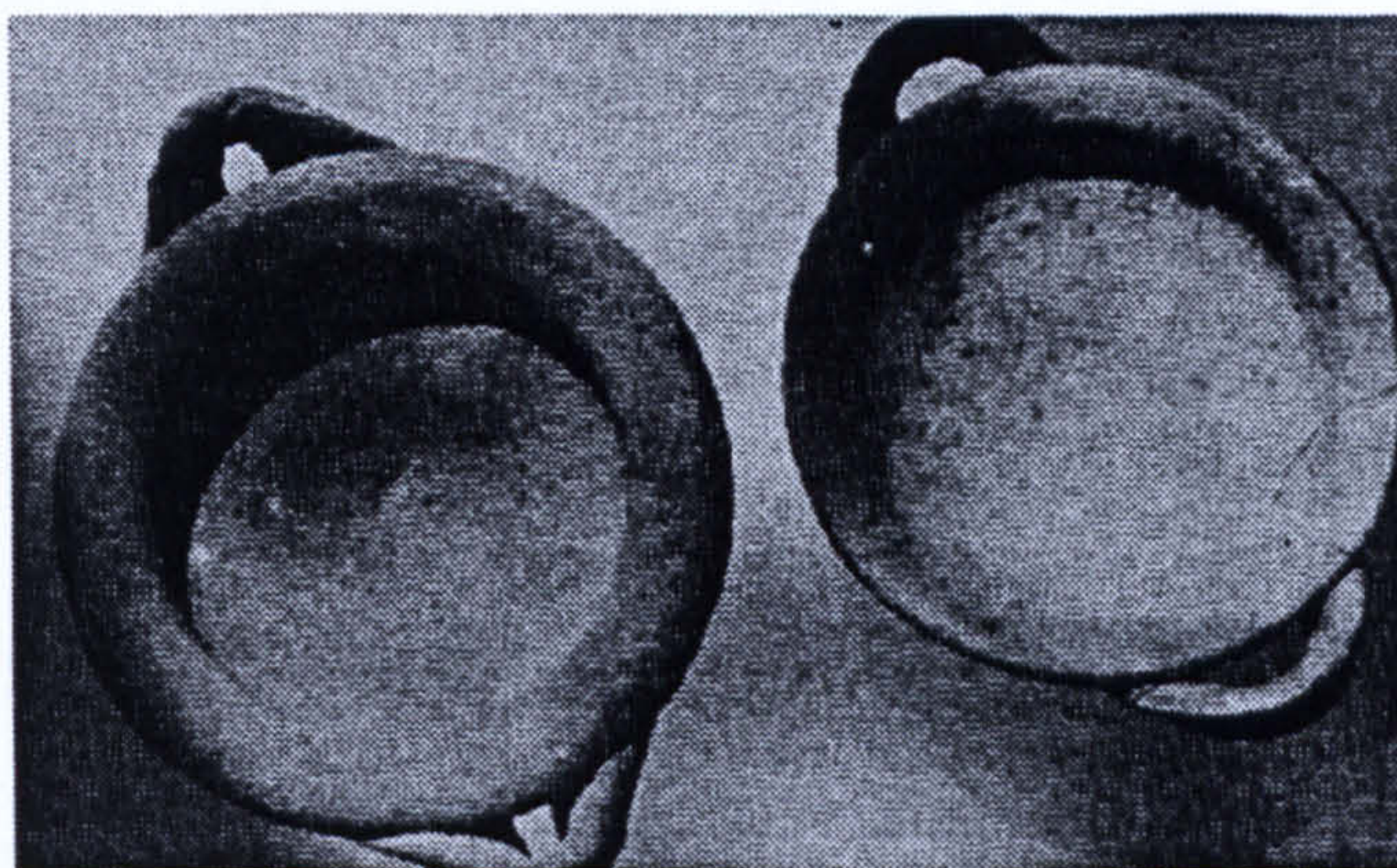
Myt. 90 I, area 2

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Decorated Miniature Hydriai

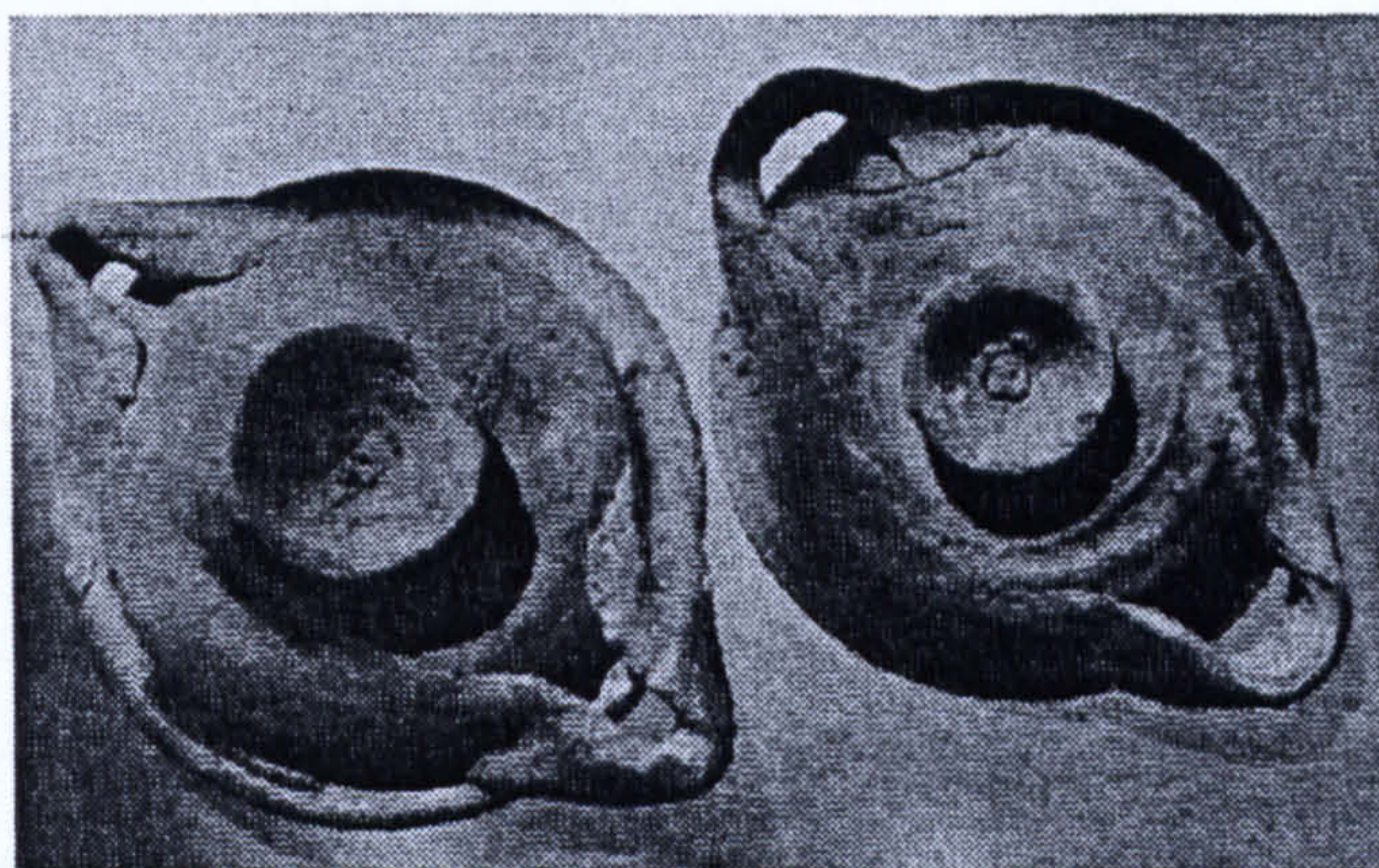


a.

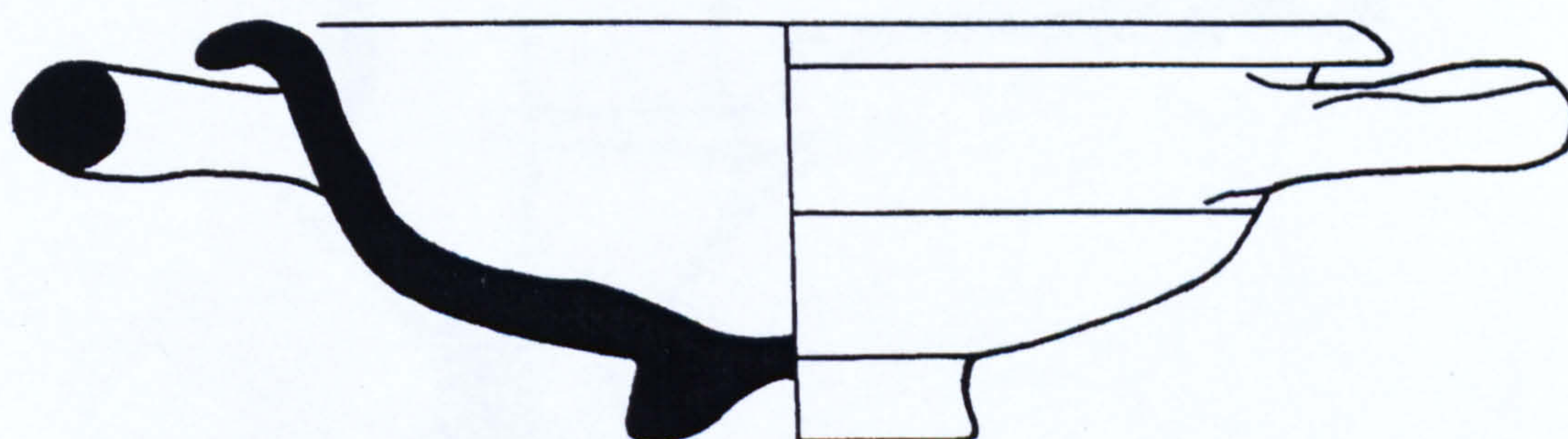
Myt. 90 I



a.

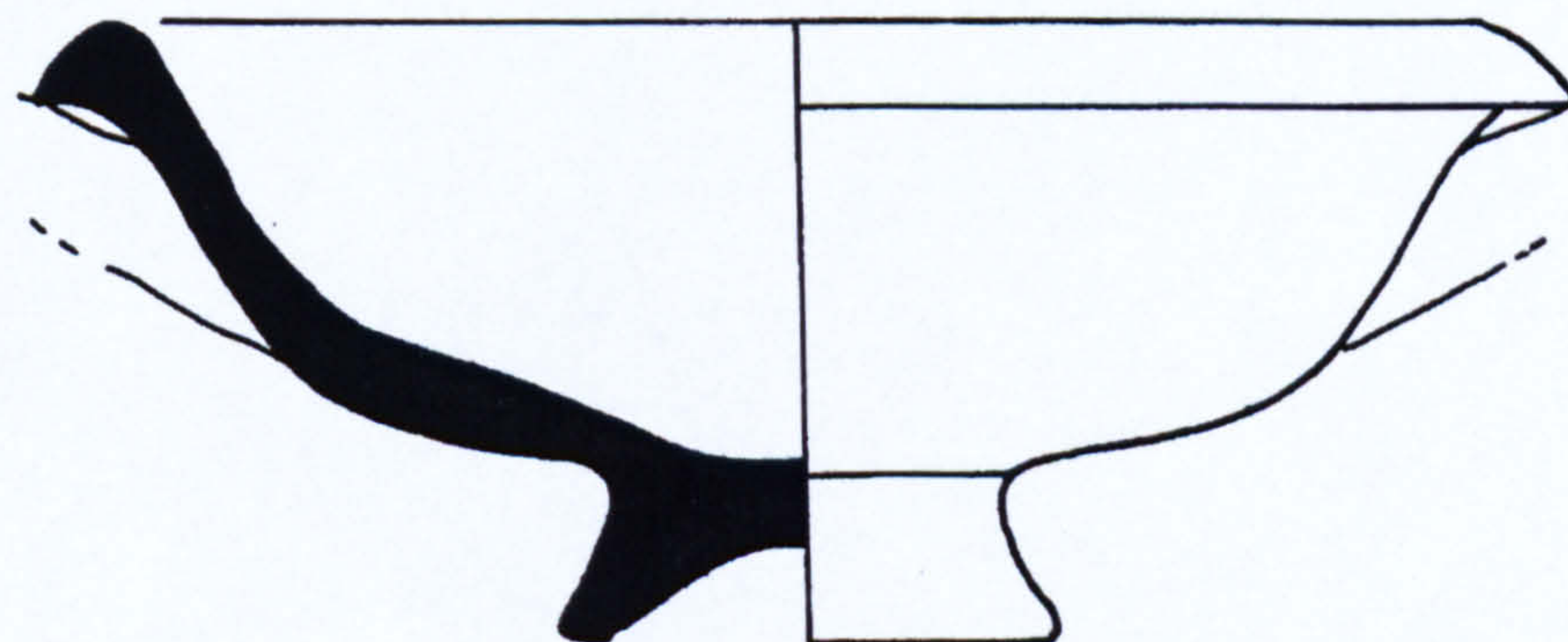


b.



c.

Myt. 87 I-P1132

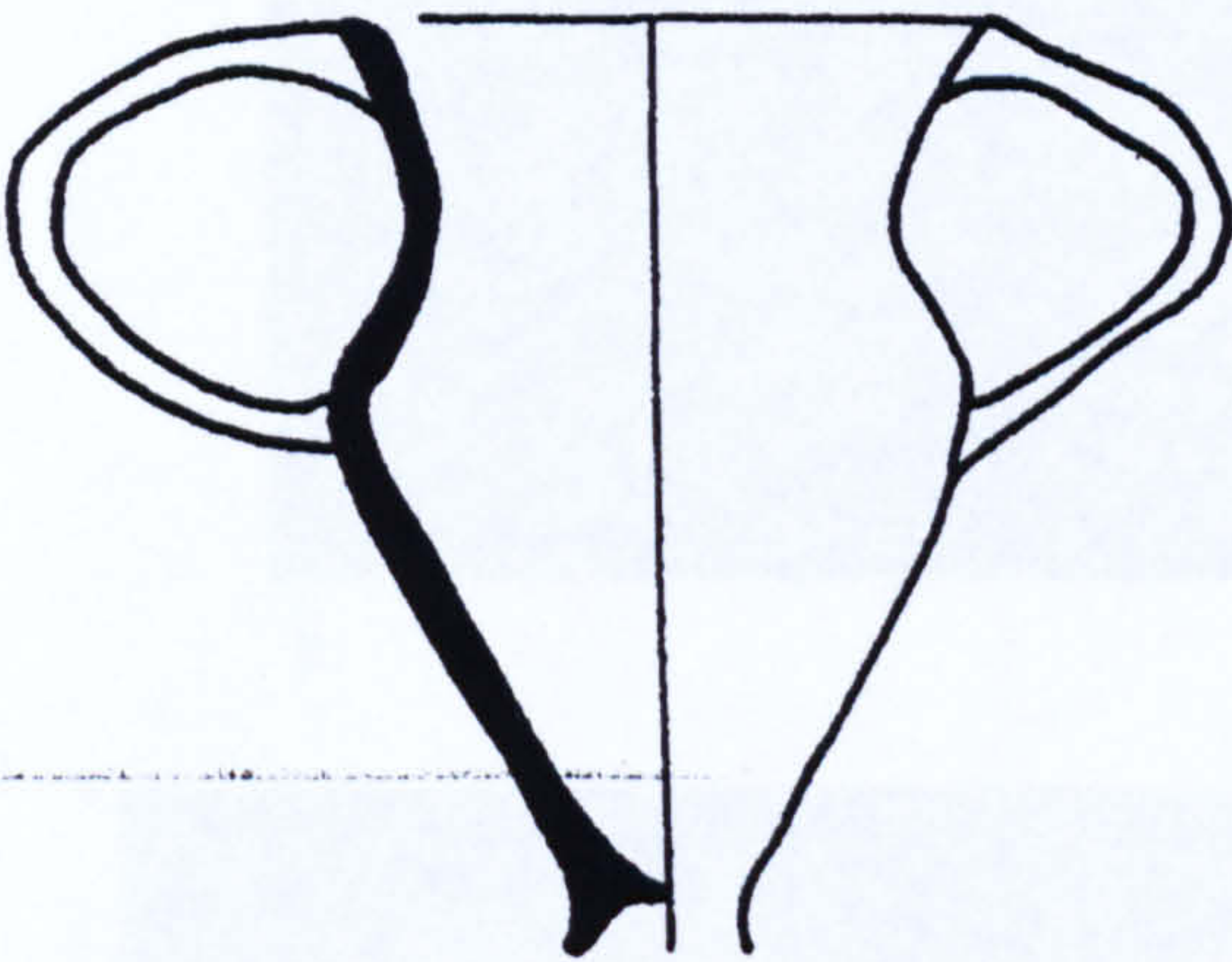


d.

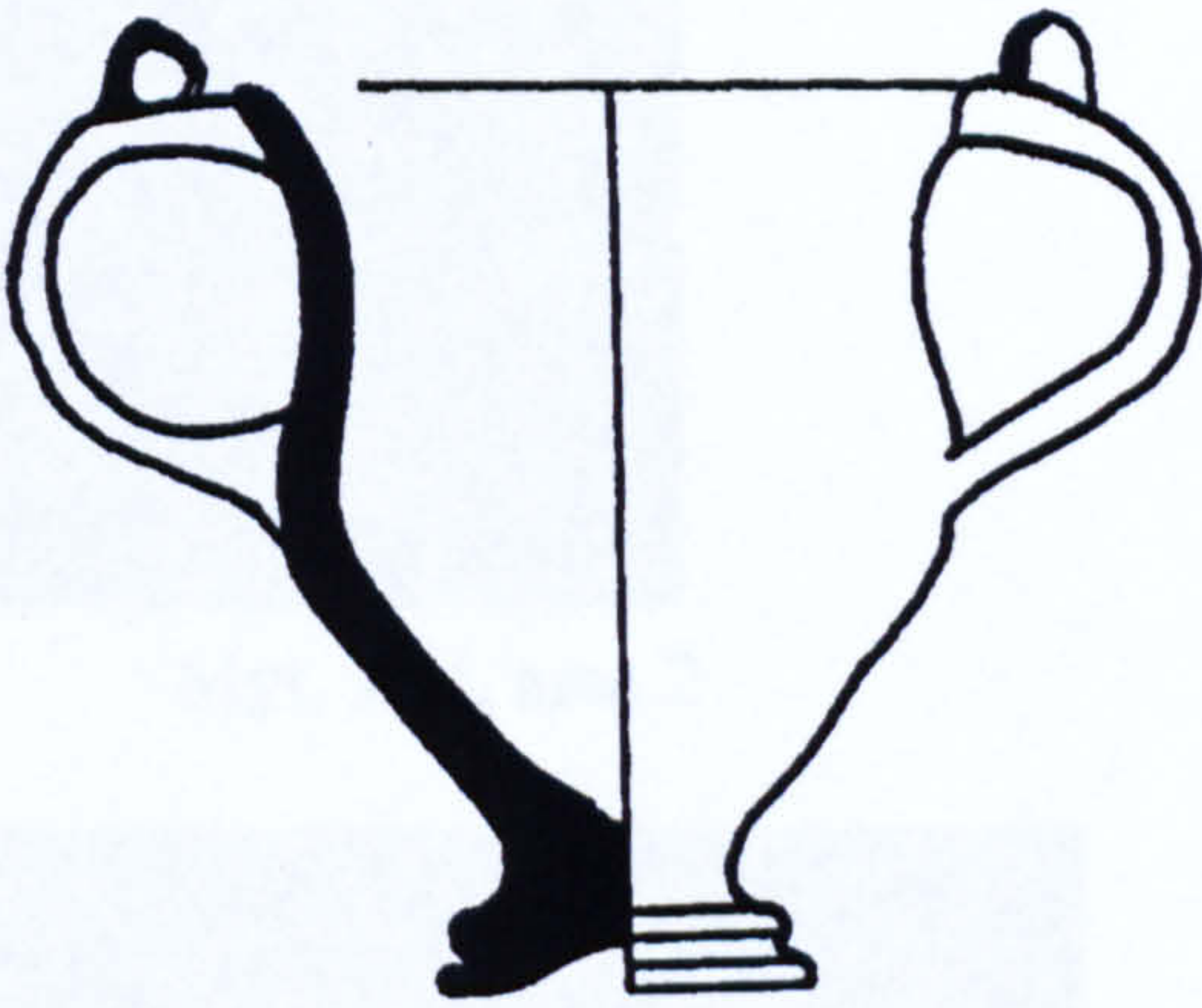
Myt. 87 I-P1130

Scale 1:1

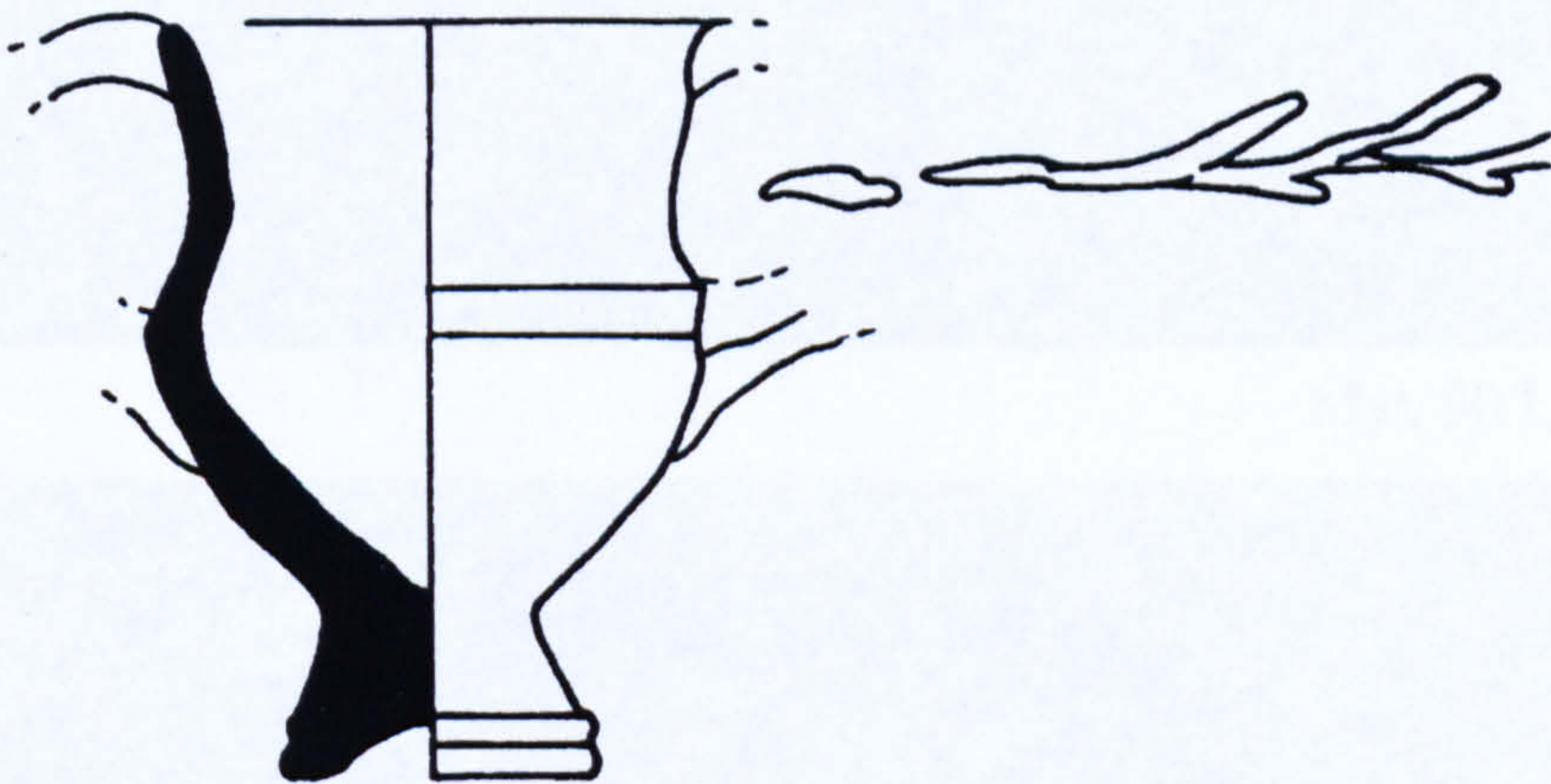
Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Offering Vessels from the Bothros



a. Myt. 86 I-P72

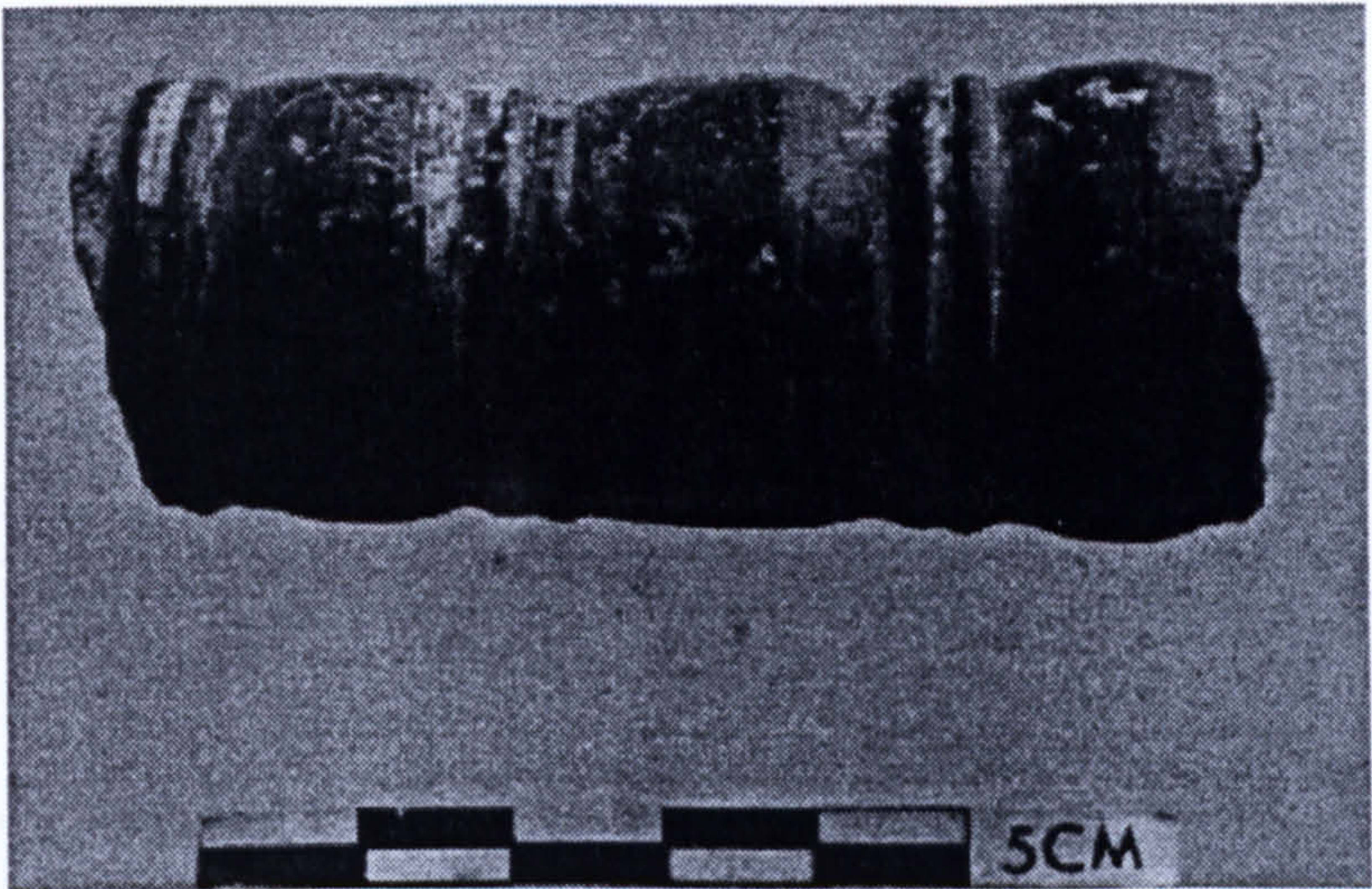


b. Myt. 86 I-P74



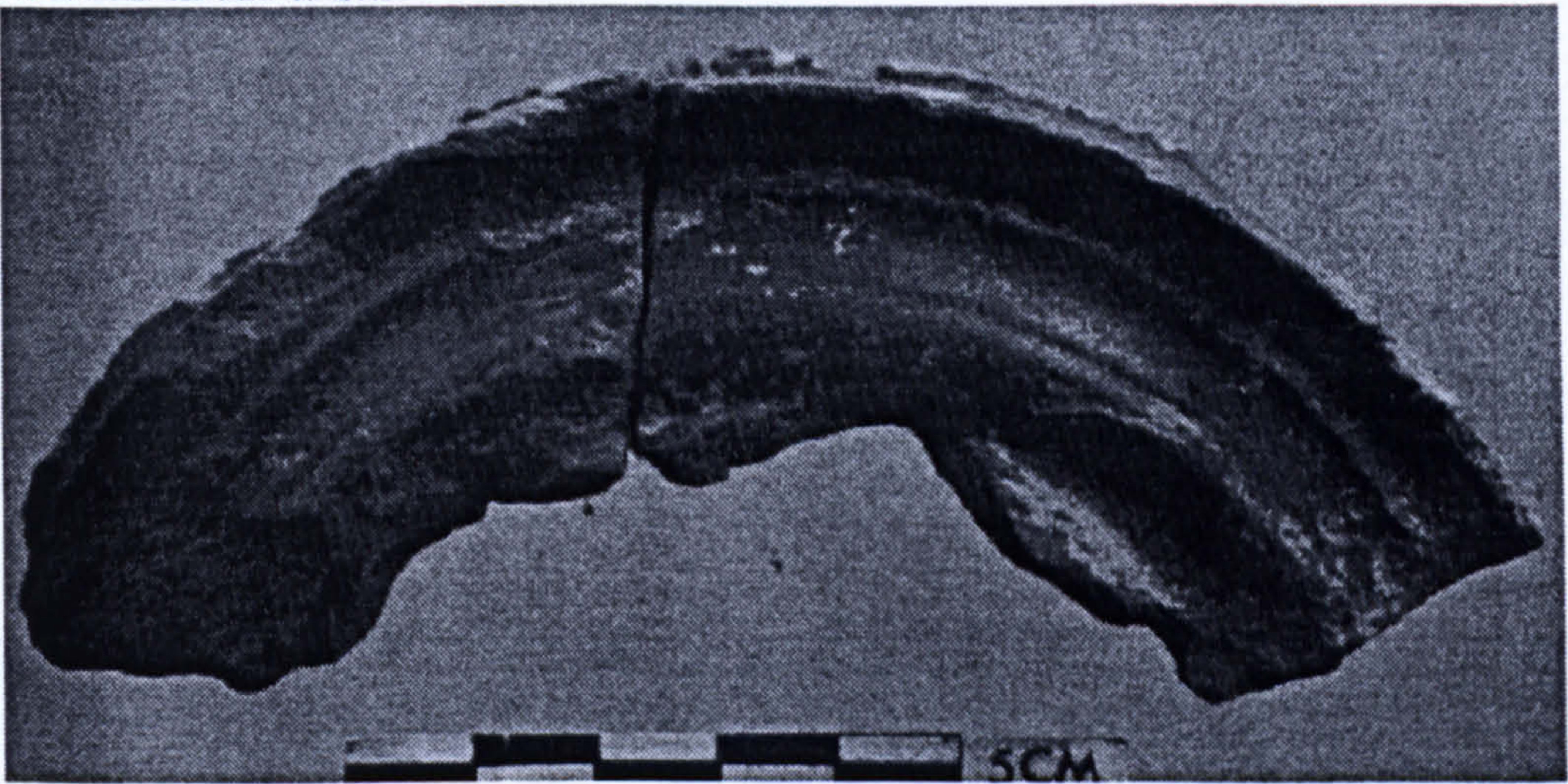
c. Myt. 87 I-P120

Scale 1:1



a.

Myt. 90 I, area 2



b.

Myt. 90 I, area 2



c.

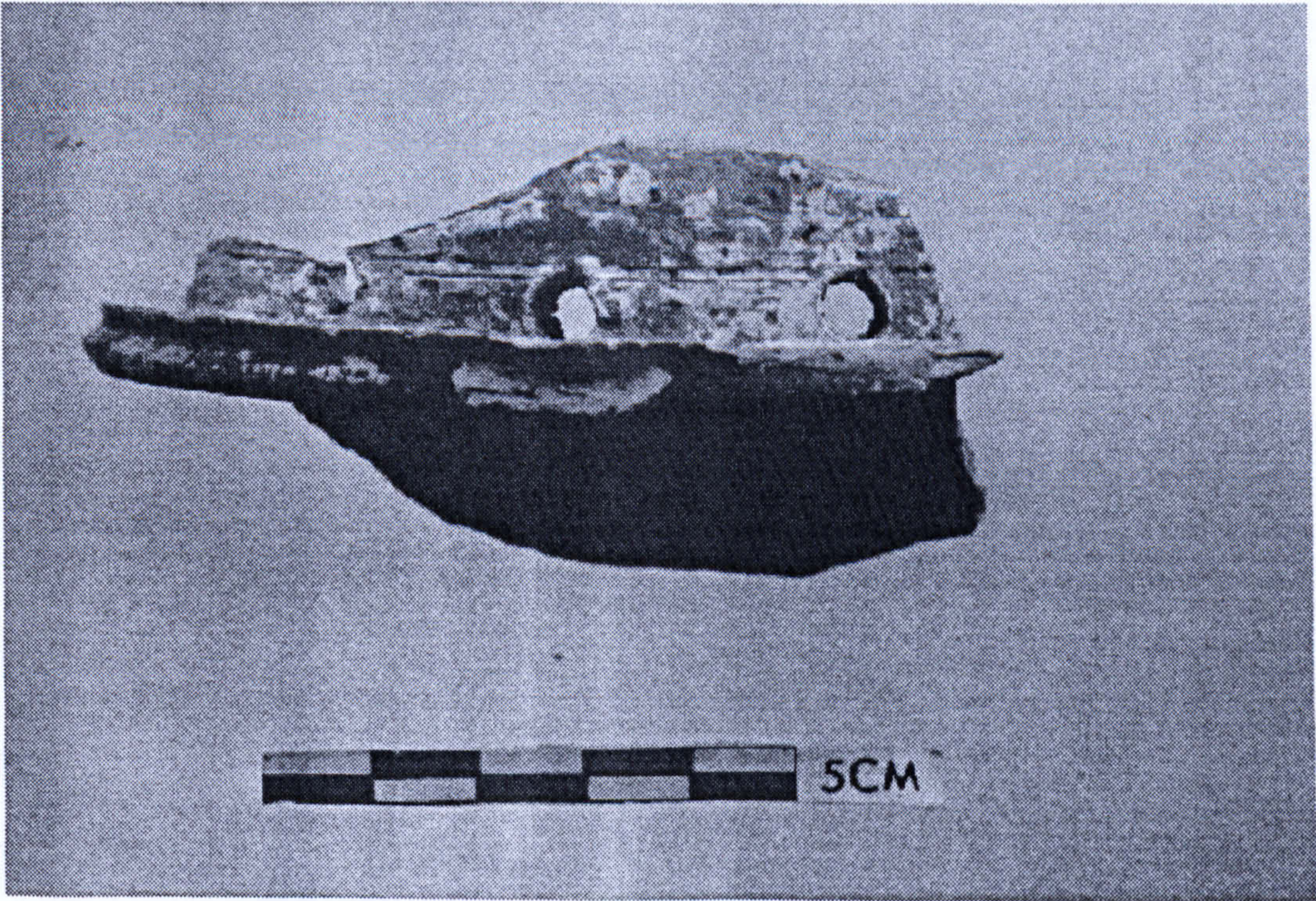
Myt. 90 I, area 3

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Votive Vessels



a.

Myt. 90 I, area 3



b.

Myt. 90 I, area 3

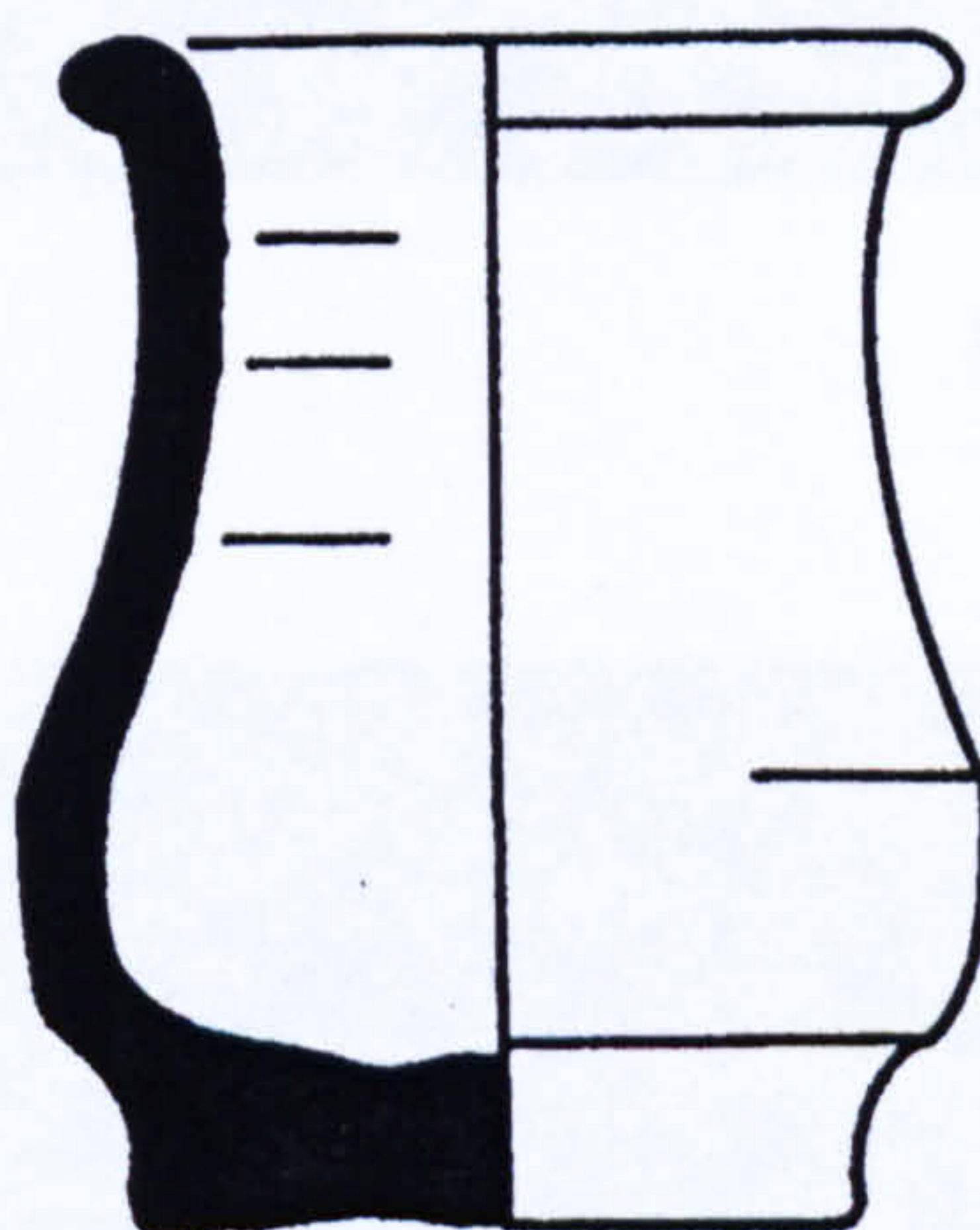
Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Votive Vessel



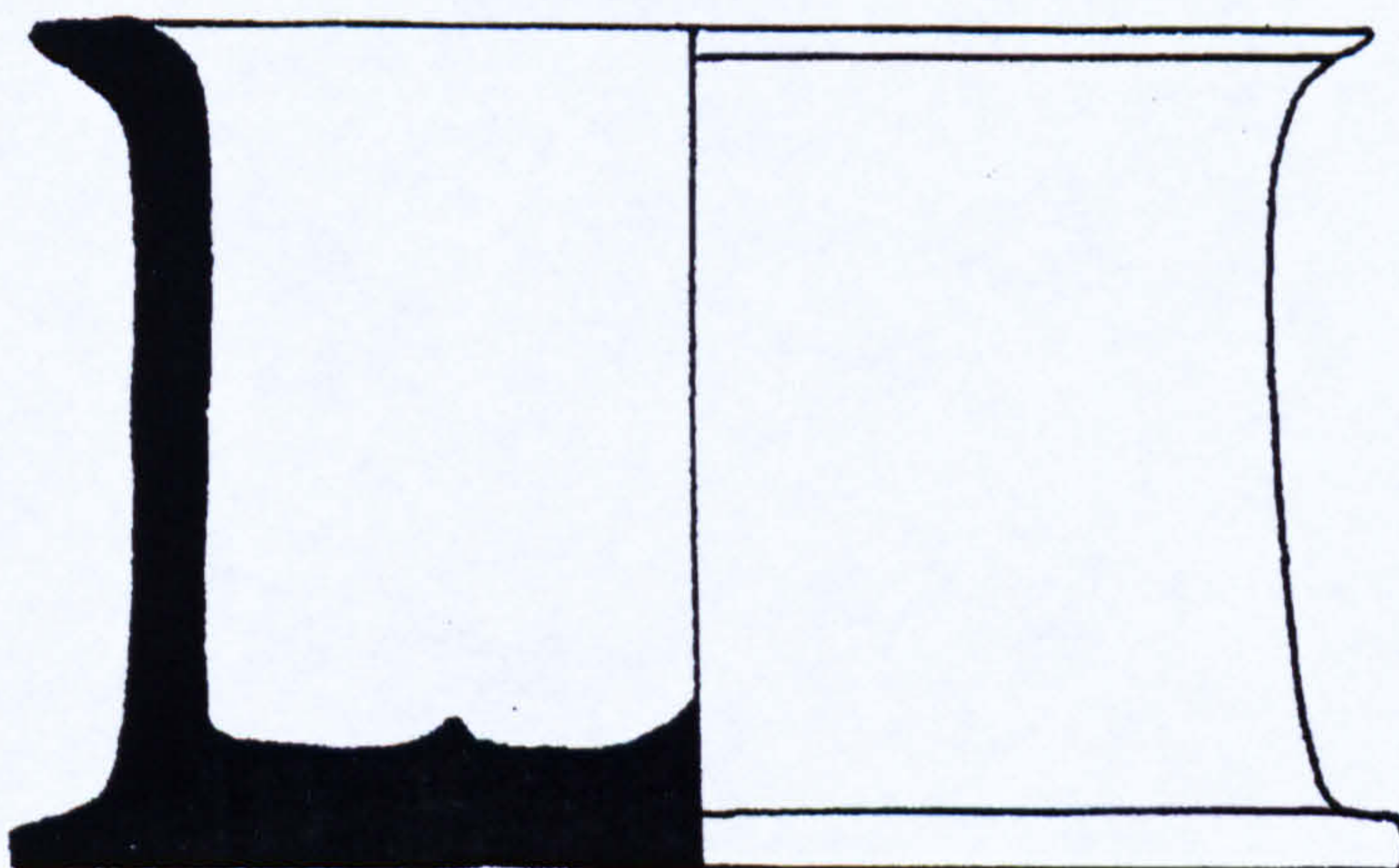
a. Myt. 89 I-P66



b. Myt. 90 I-P114



c. Myt. 89 I-P391



d.

Myt. 86 I-P1

Scale 1:1

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Votive Pottery



a.

Myt. 90 TC389



b.

Myt. 85 TC89

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Archaic and Classical Female Figurines



a.

Myt. 89 TC828

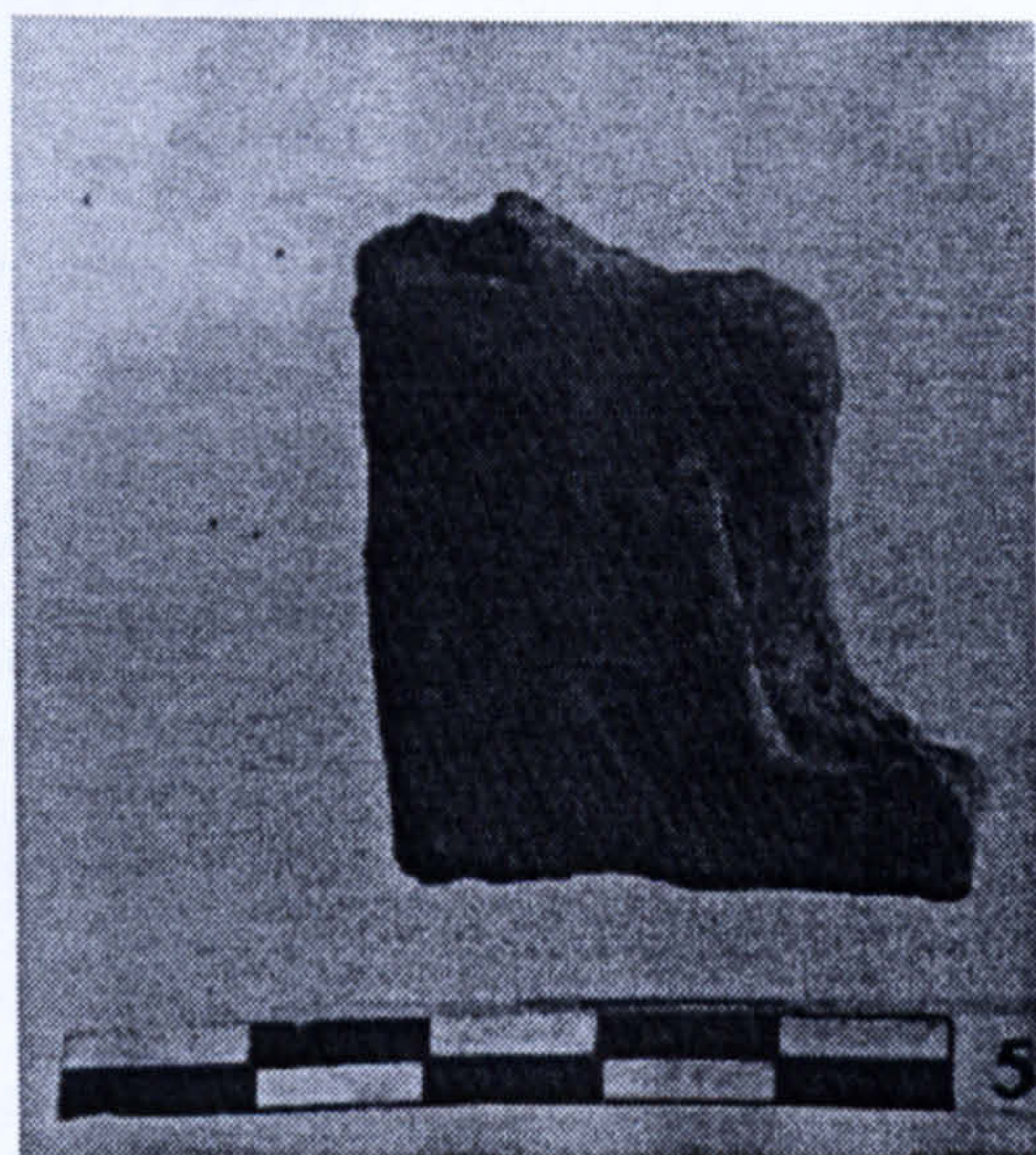


b.



c.

Myt. 86 TC87



d.

Myt. 86 TC87

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Archaic and Classical Female Figurines



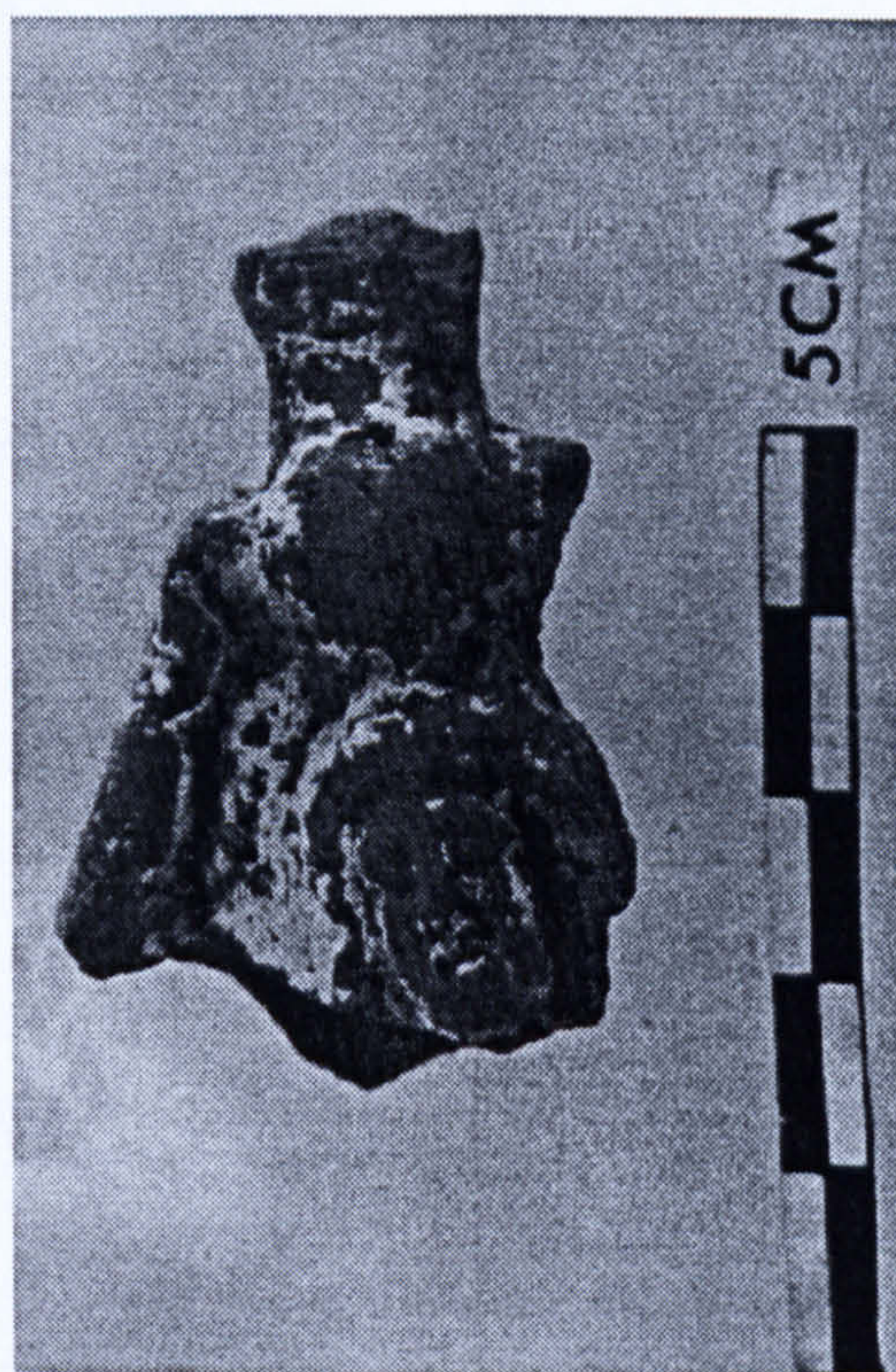
a.

Myt. 87 TC168



b.

Myt. 85 TC68



c.

Myt. 89 TC593

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Hydrophoroi



a.

Myt. 84 TC13



b.

Myt. 89 TC534 and 380



c.

Myt. 89 TC539

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Double-Handed Worshippers



a.



b.



c.

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Female Figurines - Dancer and Single-Handed Worshippers



a.

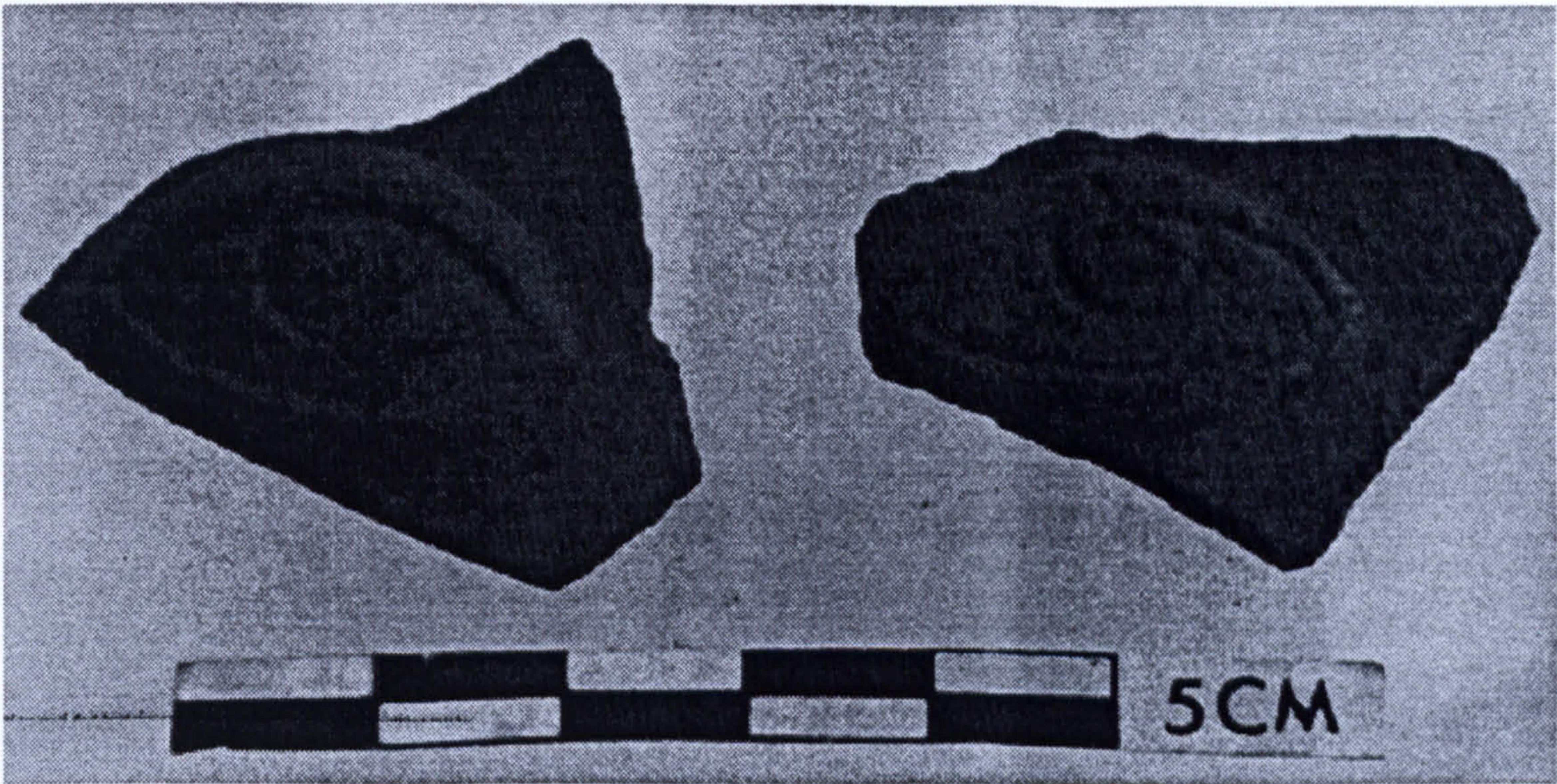


b.



c.

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Male Figurines



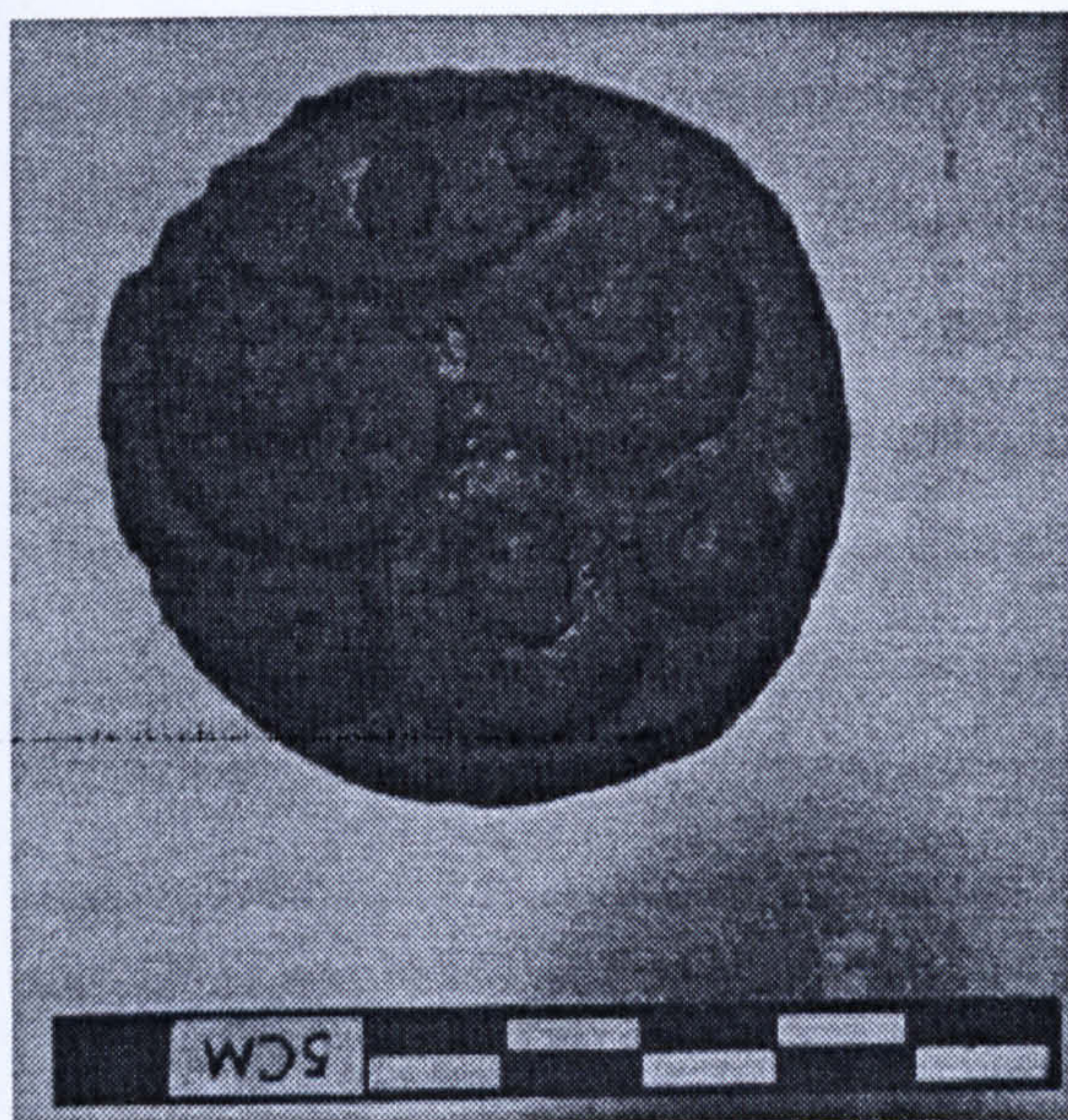
a.

R. Myt. 87 TC116 L. Myt. 89 TC583



b.

Myt. 89 TC656

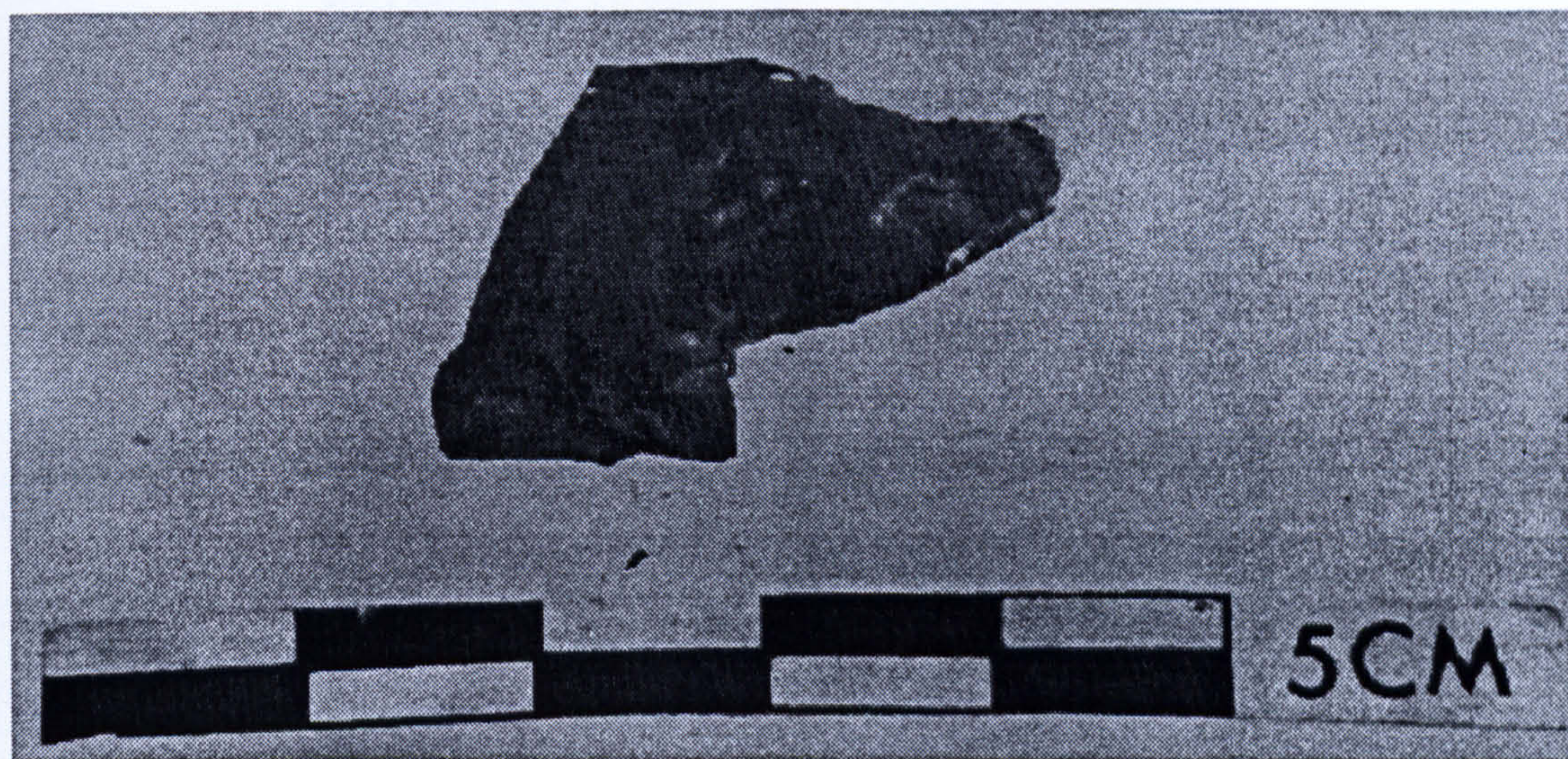


a.



b.

Myt. 89 TC590



c.

Myt. 87 TC155

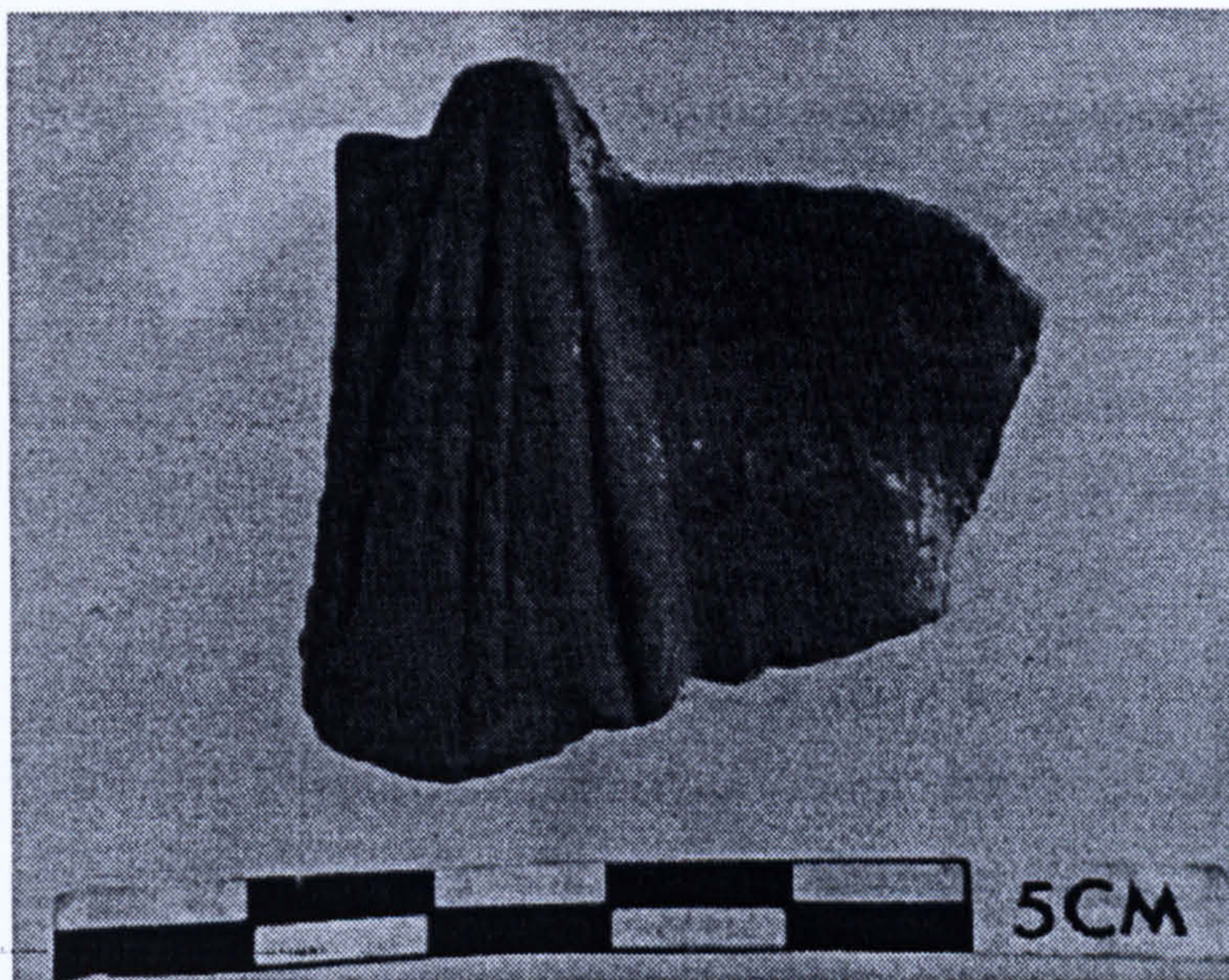


a.



b.

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Votive Figurines

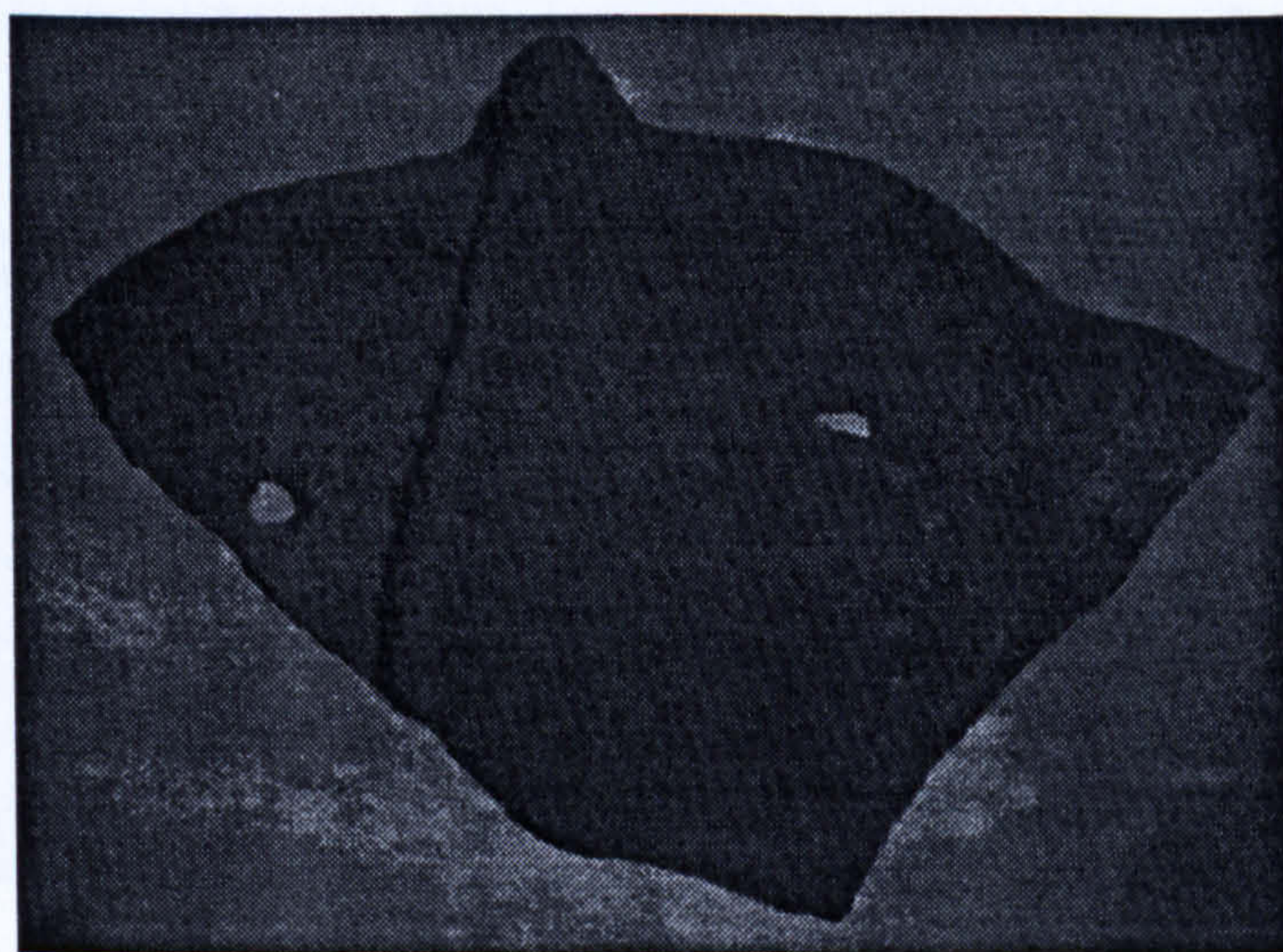


a.

Myt. 85 TC64



b.



c.

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Terracotta Flower Plaques



a. Myt. 89 I-F123, Myt. 89 I-F58, Myt. 89 I-F122, Myt. 89 I-F59



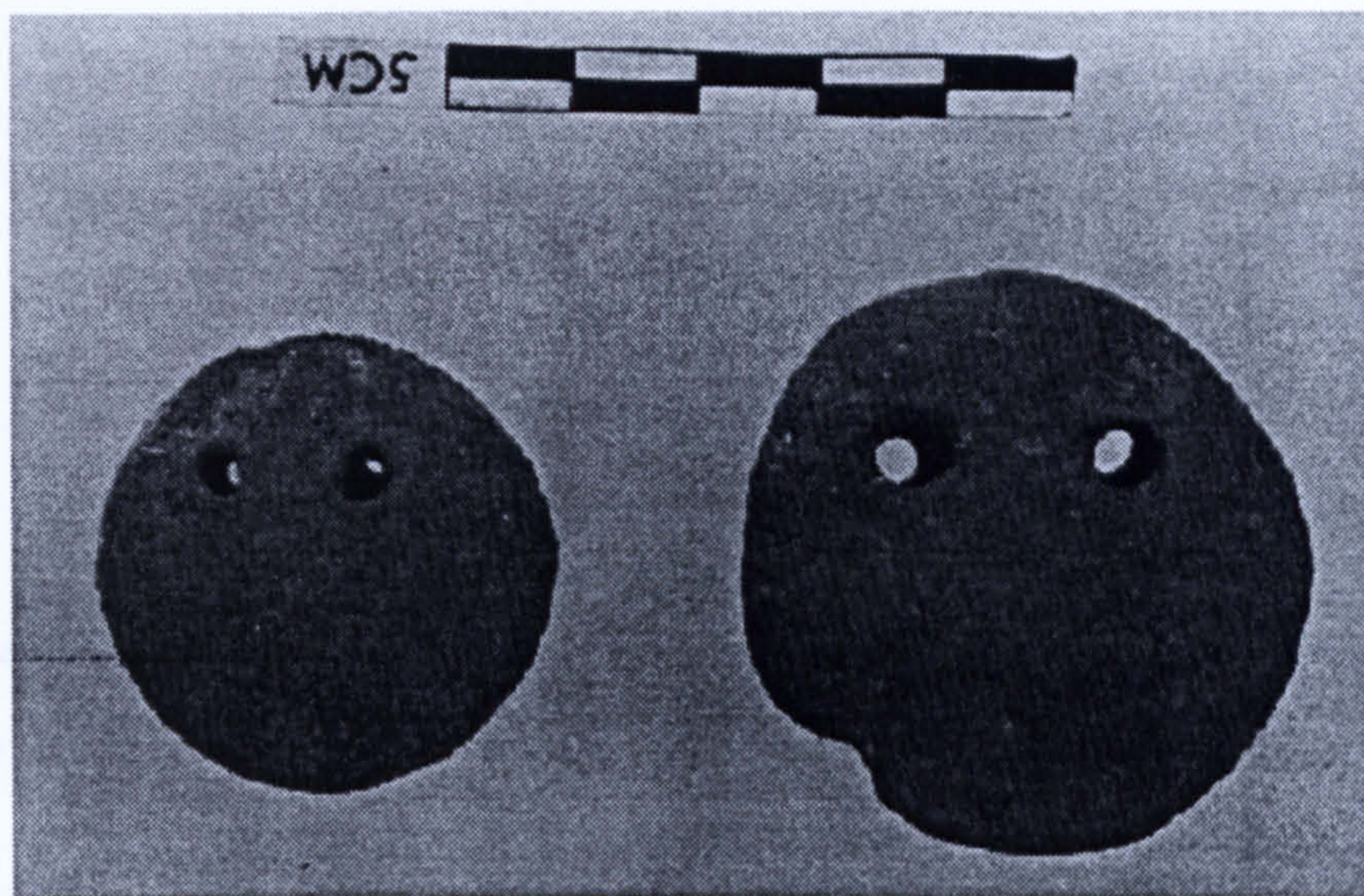
b.



c.

Myt. 89 I-F10

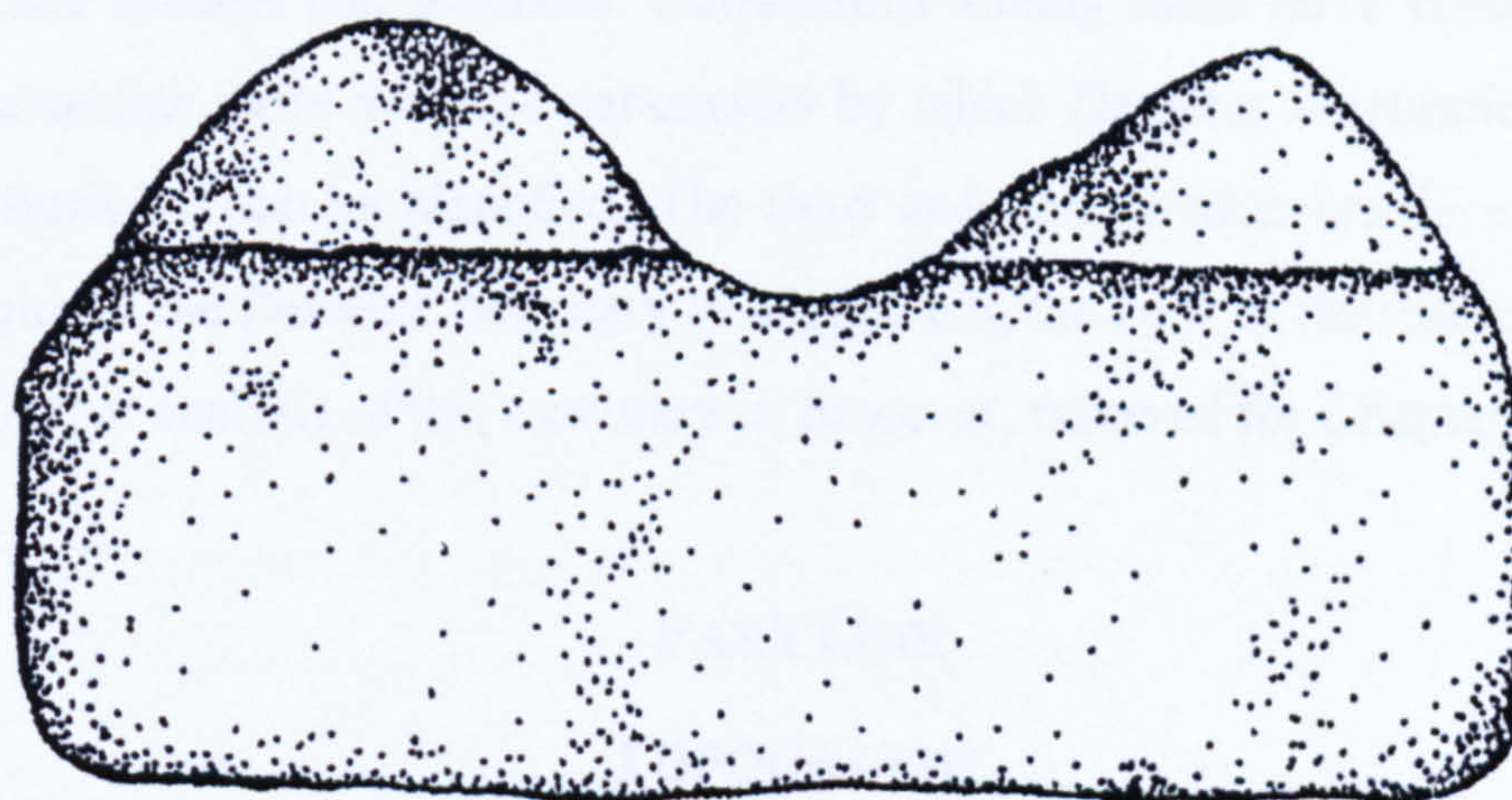
Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Pyramidal Loom Weights



a.

Myt. 87 I-F383, Myt. 87 I-F13

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Discoid Loom Weights



b.

Mytilene Sanctuary of Demeter
Marble Weight (?)

CHAPTER THREE

A TOPOGRAPHICAL STUDY

OF

DEMETER SANCTUARIES

Demeter's sanctuaries are known throughout the Greek world as her cults were spread by colonists who took the gods from their mother cities to their new homes. Demeter, as the goddess of grain, was an especially important deity for a newly founded town which was wholly dependent upon the agricultural yield of its freshly-claimed lands. It is possible that every large town and most villages had at least one area sacred to Demeter¹.

This chapter examines a large cross-section of these ubiquitous sanctuaries. It is divided into three parts: the first examines the location of sanctuaries with reference to the principal town of a *polis*, while the second investigates internal topography. Both attempt to ascertain relationships among sanctuary location, architectural features and specific cult practices. Correlations among these three elements will be used to establish more accurate parameters by which Demeter sanctuaries, and even specific festivals, can be identified. The third and final section briefly examines the topography of the Demeter sanctuary of Mytilene in the light of the results of the first two. A deeper analysis of this sanctuary is, however, reserved for Chapter Six.

PART ONE

TOPOGRAPHY

¹ Many towns had multiple Demeter sanctuaries, including Athens (at least five sanctuaries), Megalopolis (two sanctuaries), Cyrene (three sanctuaries), Mytilene (two sanctuaries), Hermione (six sanctuaries) and Akragas (three sanctuaries).

Every individual sanctuary developed in response to local history, economics, local beliefs and outside influences. The examination of each site should, theoretically, take this information into account, however, such a full survey would go far beyond the limits of a thesis. In order to analyse the sanctuaries they have been divided into four main categories based solely upon topography². These categories are: Intraurban -- sanctuaries located within a town's walls or limits, Extraurban -- sanctuaries located immediately outside of the town, Remote -- rural sanctuaries and those situated a long walk from a town and Monumental -- sanctuaries that received expensive architectural aggrandisement. Some sanctuaries qualify for more than one category and are therefore included in all those that apply. Many of Demeter's sanctuaries have been omitted from this section because only sites with topographical information can be studied; sadly, numerous sanctuaries are known only from short literary references or inscriptions devoid of topographical information.

Intraurban Sanctuaries

Intraurban sanctuaries were located in a variety of places within a town's walls, in both public and more isolated, uninhabited areas. Public areas included the *agora* and the acropolis. Isolated sanctuaries were situated in undeveloped land within cities, away from residential and civic centres, and sometimes in locales that were apparently reserved for cult.

Public

The *agora* was the political and social heart of any Greek town and many of the town's most important deities, including Demeter, could be honoured with sanctuaries either within the boundaries of the *agora* or immediately beside it. According to Pausanias, the sacred enclosure of Demeter and Kore at Megalopolis was located completely within its *agora*³. It was a large sanctuary, surrounded by a *peribolos* wall with shrines to various deities, a sacred grove with its own encircling wall, a huge building where local Mysteries were celebrated and a further separate temple

²Edlund, 29. Edlund distinguished among urban, extra-urban and rural sanctuaries and suggested that the functions of each of these types may have differed.

³Pausanias viii 30ff. Megalopolis has been excavated but the sanctuary was not preserved. It was located on the south-west corner of the market place, an area which has been washed away by the river Hclisson.

dedicated to Kore. The situation of this sanctuary is important because it was not an early shrine that the town simply encompassed as it grew, but was part of a planned town that was founded by synoikism c 370 B.C. The sanctuary was deliberately located in the most public area of the town. Secrecy, when it was required for festivals, was achieved by limiting access by the walls and the gate and by holding the mysteries indoors in the large structure that Pausanias states was built for that very purpose.

Unlike at Megalopolis, the Athenian Eleusinion and the town sanctuary of Demeter at Cyrene were not part of the *agora* itself, instead they were situated on its periphery⁴. The Eleusinion is on the SE side of the Agora on a prominent terrace that overlooked the market⁵. When secrecy was a requirement for rituals at this sanctuary, its very public location did not pose a problem. The sanctuary was elevated above the *Agora* on a terrace and was surrounded by large *temenos* walls which meant that the uninitiated could not see into the sanctuary grounds, assuring secrecy. Cyrene's urban Demeter sanctuary, located on the north-west edge of the *agora*, was a small open-air site that consisted solely of a *peribolos* wall and two altars. Artifacts suggest that this sanctuary was constructed very soon after the foundation of the colony in 630 B.C., possibly serving as the main Demeter sanctuary until the large extramural sanctuary was constructed c 600 B.C. Here, as with the large Eleusinion in Athens, secrecy could be maintained by the *temenos* walls.

The second, and more common, public intraurban location for a Demeter sanctuary was on the town acropolis; such shrines are found at Thebes, Kranea, Phlious, Lepreon and Megara. Pausanias notes that Thebes had a Thesmophorion on the height of the Kadmia and that this sanctuary was ancient, believed to have been the original house of Kadmos, the town's founder, and his descendants⁶. Little is known about the actual site, but two possible locations have been excavated: the first is represented by an *ex-voto* deposit⁷, while the second contains the preserved

⁴Thompson and Wycherly, 144. Bacchielli, II.1.

⁵The procession of the Mystai left for Eleusis from this sanctuary.

⁶Pausanias ix 16, 5.

⁷See: Site Catalogue, *Thebes, Demeter on the Kadmeia*, location two, Kebes Street.

foundations of a large structure⁸. Kranea, on Kephallenia, had a small Demeter sanctuary on the north promontory of the town's double-hilled acropolis. This sanctuary consisted of a small Doric temple and an altar and was associated with a fresh water spring. Pausanias records that Phlious and Megara each had two Demeter sanctuaries on the acropolis⁹. At Phlious, there was a sanctuary of Demeter on the summit along with a shrine of Asklepios, while the town theatre and a second sanctuary of Demeter were located on the side of the hill. Megara had two acropolis heights, each with a sanctuary; Demeter's great hall, alleged to have been constructed originally by Kar, the king and founder of Megara, was on the Karia summit while the second sanctuary, the town Thesmophorion, was located on the side of Alkathous, the second acropolis¹⁰. The Demeter sanctuary of Lepreon may also have been located on the acropolis. Lepreon was in poor shape by the time of Pausanias' visit. He discussed it only briefly stating that Lepreon had "no tomb of distinction, and no sanctuary of any deity save one of Demeter. Even this was built of unburned mud brick, and contained no image."¹¹. In 1891, however, Dörpfeld found the remains of a Doric peripteral temple on the acropolis which is tentatively identified as this sanctuary of Demeter¹².

Isolated

Most intraurban Demeter sanctuaries were located away from the public areas of a town, beyond housing, often on undeveloped slopes of the acropolis and near fortification walls. These sanctuaries tended to be simple and small. The sanctuaries at Priene and Knidos are located in rough, isolated terrain on the slopes of the acropolis. They were built on man-made terraces above their cities, outside the orthogonal street plan and away from all other structures¹³. Similarly, Eretria may have had two successive Demeter sanctuaries located away from its urban areas on the side of the

⁸See: Site Catalogue, *Thebes, Demeter on the Kadmeia*, location one, near the corner of Antigone and Pindar Streets.

⁹Phlious: Pausanias ii 13, 4-5. Megara: Pausanias i 39, 5; i 40, 6.

¹⁰Pausanias i 42, 6.

¹¹Pausanias v 5, 6.

¹²Dörpfeld, 1891, 259ff.

¹³Sir Charles Newton, the first excavator of the sanctuary at Knidos, thought that the placement of the sanctuary may actually have been due to the existence of a sheer and smooth cliff that reached up to 21m in height. The sanctuary was constructed on a man-made terrace that abutted this cliff.

acropolis¹⁴. Neandria had an isolated intraurban sanctuary located in far eastern end of the town, against the inner face of the large fortification wall. The only access to this sanctuary area was by way of a path directly from the town, which has to pass between large, natural rock outcrops¹⁵. Miletos likewise had an isolated intraurban sanctuary, but there it was located on the end of a small peninsula which projected into the sea.

It was not, however, necessary for this type of urban Demeter sanctuary to be totally isolated as is indicated by examples from Halikarnassos and Corinth. In Halikarnassos, the sanctuary was located approximately half way up the slope of the town. Remains from the area suggest that it was town hinterland and not heavily urban, but it was not isolated. The area contained structures that did not readily fit into the town grid plan, including a temple of Ares, a gymnasium, a theatre and the Mausoleum itself. In Corinth, the sanctuary is located on the north slope of the acropolis, removed from the town centre but situated in an area that was possibly reserved for cult facilities. Pausanias records that in this one area there were the enclosures of Isis and of Sarapis, altars to Helios, a sanctuary of Ἀνάγκη (Necessity) and Βία (Violence), a shrine of the Mother of the Gods and one of the Fates and the sanctuary of Bounaiaian Hera¹⁶.

Extraurban Sanctuaries

Extraurban sanctuaries are cult areas located outside a town's limits. This group can be subdivided into two categories:

Niches were carved into the rock face to hold statuary. This natural rock formation with its chthonic connotations probably specifically attracted the cult.

¹⁴The earlier sanctuary, dating from the late Archaic or early Classical period to the early third century B.C. was located on the eastern side of the south slope of the acropolis. It consisted of a walled *temenos* area, an *oikos* and an altar. Later, the sanctuary was abandoned and a second Thesmophorion was constructed on the western side of the same slope. The second sanctuary was in use until the town was destroyed during the Mithridatic wars in 87 B.C. It is important to note that the identity of the Archaic sanctuary of Demeter is questioned by Muller (168-169). See: Eretria - Cult in the site catalogue and Chapter Four, "Eretria Revisited" - for more information and a discussion of Muller's arguments.

¹⁵Filges and Matern, 43-86. The sanctuary is represented by a single *ex-voto* pottery and figurine deposit. The remains of a wall and a staircase found to the west may be related to the deposit, but there is no artifactual evidence to link them.

¹⁶Pausanias ii 4, 7.

1. Sanctuaries constructed close to, or even abutting, an isolated section of the exterior face of the town fortifications .
2. Those constructed a small distance from the town itself.

Abdera, Troy and Eutresis all preserve sanctuaries of the first category of extraurban sites. Three shrines (E1 to E3) were constructed along the isolated northern section of Abdera's Archaic fortifications¹⁷. Each shrine consisted a small open-air area, delineated by a *temenos* wall and containing only a simple hearth altar. Despite the undeveloped aspect of these cult areas, they were used extensively. Altar E2 contained numerous terracotta figurines, pottery fragments, burnt faunal remains and over 10,000 miniature hydriai. The location of the cult must have been important to the cult. Abdera was prone to flooding from the sea; consequently towards the end of the Archaic period sections of the town were abandoned and relocated to the south. The cult area, however, was not displaced and worship continued.

Troy has two neighbouring sanctuaries situated on the south-west slope of the citadel close to the town walls. The upper sanctuary is tentatively identified as being sacred to Kybele, while the lower may have been dedicated to Demeter¹⁸. They were probably founded in the first half of the seventh century B.C. during Troy VIII, the first Hellenic phase of the town. Both sanctuaries were modest and hypaethral, containing only altars, but the upper Kybele sanctuary was larger than the lower Demeter sanctuary. This size differential, along with the terracottas found within its *temenos*, suggested to D. Thompson that Kybele was the more popular divinity of the two at Ilion¹⁹. Finds also suggested that this Demeter sanctuary may have been the town Thesmophorion.

A poorly preserved extramural sanctuary at Eutresis was identified in 1931 as a shrine of Apollo, however, artifacts from the site indicate it was sacred to Demeter, probably

¹⁷Hearth Altar E1: contained finds dating from the end of the sixth century B.C. to the end of the fourth century B.C. Hearth Altar E2: this altar dates from the fifth century B.C. to the early third century B.C. It was associated with the second phase (Βετᾱ) of the town wall but remained in use after this wall was destroyed. Hearth Altar E3: contained finds dating from the late fourth century or early third century B.C. The artifacts and presence of chthonic hearth altars suggests these shrines were the site of the town Thesmophoria.

¹⁸Troy map co-ordinates: Squares A-B 7-9. These two sanctuaries have been identified on the basis of artifacts. See: Thompson, D.B., 1963.

¹⁹Thompson, D.B., 57-58.

in her role as Thesmophoros²⁰. The sanctuary was located on the south slope of the hill of the town, outside but near the polygonal fortification walls. All that remains of the site are two walls, identified as possible terrace support walls. It is not known if a *peribolos* wall surrounded the terrace or if there were any cult structures, but the sanctuary area was small, indicating it was probably an open-air shrine.

The second category of extraurban sanctuaries consists of shrines situated a short distance from the town to which they belonged. These sanctuaries were generally larger than those situated close to town fortifications, and were generally located in isolated areas. As more space was available, these sanctuaries were often associated with sacred groves. Unfortunately, the majority of these sites are known only from literary sources. Pausanias mentions Demeter sanctuaries of this category at Megalopolis, Mount Kyllene in Arkadia and one at Thebes. The sanctuary of Demeter in the Marsh at Megalopolis was located half a mile from the town, along the road leading from the town gate known as the Marsh Gate. According to Pausanias, this sanctuary, which was restricted to women, consisted of a temple and a sacred grove²¹. Pheneos had a sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros at the base of Mount Kyllene, approximately two miles from the town²². Here, the Pheneans celebrated a 'mystery', probably the Thesmophoria. The sanctuary of Kabeirian Demeter and Kore at Thebes was located three miles from the town in a sacred grove²³. This sanctuary was restricted to those who had been initiated into the Mysteries.

Cyrene has one of the few examples of a preserved and excavated extraurban Demeter sanctuary. It is located only 40m south of the town but on the far bank of a deep wadi. A path with a bridge across the wadi provided access to the area. The area was very isolated when the shrine was first founded in the early sixth century B.C., but it

²⁰Goldman, 1931, 245ff. Hetty Goldman identified the sanctuary as a shrine to Apollo on the basis of numerous terracotta pig figurines found within the *temenos*. Such offerings were common at the oracular shrine of Ptoan Apollo. She had reservations about identifying the site as an Apollo sanctuary because numerous examples of terracotta figurine types comparable to those from Eleusis were also present, including women carrying pigs, *hydrophoroi* and veiled dancers. Goldman was, however, hesitant to identify the shrine as a Demeter sanctuary because no sites sacred to Demeter had been found up to that point (1931) in Boeotia. The terracotta finds came from the terrace fill, date from the late sixth century B.C. to the third century B.C.

²¹Pausanias viii 36, 6. Pausanias notes that only women were allowed to enter the sanctuary of Demeter in the Marsh. The prohibition of men suggests the sanctuary may have been a Thesmophorion.

²²Pausanias viii 15, 4.

was always visible from the *agora*, and later when the town grew and the town wall was constructed, the interior of the sanctuary was visible to anyone who stood on the fortifications. The sanctuary was large, c 85m north to south by 73m east to west at its fullest development, constructed on three main terraces. This sanctuary, despite its size, was not highly developed architecturally. Large walls with the dual purpose of a *temenos* wall and terrace support surrounded each terrace, but there was no large, central and permanent cult structure; instead the middle terrace was dotted with small, independent Sacred Houses.

Two sanctuaries, located at Lykosura and Pergamon, have been classified as 'Monumental Sanctuaries', but they could also be ranked as 'Extraurban' sites. These two sanctuaries are large and well developed, but they were also extramural and removed from their associated cities. The sanctuary and town at Lykosura are located on a hill with a double summit; the sanctuary is located near the crown of one hill, while the town is located on the crest of the second. The Pergamene Demeter sanctuary, when it was originally founded in the late fifth or fourth century B.C., was located a short distance from the town in isolated and rough terrain on an uninhabited side of the citadel. Pergamon, however, grew and eventually in the second century B.C. the sanctuary was enclosed by the town walls.

Remote Sanctuaries

Remote sanctuaries are located within the territory of a *polis*, but are not closely associated with a town. Such Demeter sanctuaries are found throughout the Greek world, but tend, not surprisingly, to be more common in the less inhabited areas of Greece. These remote sites were generally small and very isolated and the majority are known only from literary sources, rather than archaeological excavations.

Demeter's remote sanctuaries are found in five types of topographical location:

1. Associated with vegetation
2. Associated with geological formations
3. In strategic mountain passes
4. Along the borders of *polis* territory

²³Pausanias ix 25, 5-6.

5. In the ruins of abandoned cities.

The remote sanctuary's most common association with the natural world was with a grove of oak or cypress trees and a spring that provided a good source of fresh water. Demeter sanctuaries, and often other sanctuaries, were located within the trees. Pausanias briefly describes a few sanctuaries of this type. Myasion in Achaia was seven and one-half miles from Pellene²⁴. The sanctuary, possibly a Thesmophorion for the women of Pellene, included a sacred grove with trees of all kinds and abundant spring water. Mount Pontinos, a small hill located in the south-west corner of the Argolid plain, was covered with a sacred forest of plane trees and had abundant water. Demeter Προσύμνης and other deities including Dionysos, Athena and Aphrodite, had space set aside for them in this grove²⁵. The Karnasian Grove in Messenia consisted of a stand of cypresses grouped around an abundant spring. These trees were sacred to Apollo, Hermes, Demeter and Kore; Kore's statue was even located directly beside the spring outlet. Local mysteries, supposedly related to the Eleusinian mysteries, were celebrated annually in the grove²⁶. Keleai in Corinthia was another remote site similar to the Karnasian Grove. Here too, local mysteries were celebrated. These mysteries were related to those held at Eleusis, but they were held every four years instead of annually²⁷. Pyraia in Corinthia was also located in a grove of trees, but this sanctuary was easily accessible to travelers from a major road, one and a quarter miles away, which ran from Sikyon to Phlious.

Pausanias describes a remote sanctuary which was situated in a grove of sacred oak trees at the base of Mount Parthenion in Arkadia²⁸. This site is especially important because it may have been found and excavated in 1889 by V. Bérard in the environs of the village of Khani, near to the church of Agia Trias²⁹. Unfortunately, Bérard does not give a detailed description of the site, but as it is one of the few remote sites to be excavated even his short report provides valuable information about a comparatively unknown sanctuary type. The site consists of the poorly preserved foundations of a cult structure, possibly a temple or an *oikos*, that measured 5m by 6m. An archaic

²⁴Pausanias vii 27, 9.

²⁵Pausanias ii 37, 1.

²⁶Pausanias iv 1, 5; iv 33, 4 - 5. SIG 388.

²⁷Pausanias ii 14, 1 - 3.

²⁸Pausanias viii 54, 5.

²⁹ Bérard, V., BCH 14, 1890, 382-384.

statue of an enthroned goddess was found within the structure. Close by is a second small structure, measuring 3.50m by 4m, which Bérard identified as the sanctuary of Mystic Dionysos, also mentioned by Pausanias.

Geological formations attracted sanctuaries of Demeter, especially if she was worshipped in a chthonic guise. Pausanias describes the sanctuary of Chthonic Demeter on Mount Elaion in Arkadia, located 4 miles from the town of Phigalia³⁰. Here, a cult statue of Black Demeter (Μελαινίς) was placed in a cave. This cave was sacred because according to local myth, the goddess put on black clothes and hid in this cave to grieve after the abduction of her daughter. Demeter stayed in the cave for a long time, during which the earth was plagued with famine. None of the gods could find her, but eventually Pan sighted her in the cave and told Zeus.

Remote Demeter sanctuaries, as well as those of other deities, were situated in strategic mountain passes and along the borders of a *polis*. Sanctuaries were located in these areas both to afford divine protection to an area and to lay claim to the land. A *polis* was less likely to expand surreptitiously into its neighbour's territory when the borders were delineated by land sacred to the gods. Two Demeter sanctuaries were situated at Eileoi, in a mountain pass on the road from Troizen to Hermione, inside the borders of Hermione. One sanctuary was located in Eileoi (The Holes) itself and one was located closer to the sea, but still on the Hermione border³¹. Demeter's sanctuary at Plataia was also located on a border. The location is not firmly established, but it has been tentatively located on the Pantanassa Ridge, closer to the ancient town of Hysiai than to Plataia, but still within the borders of Plataia³².

The final category of remote Demeter sanctuaries are those that were located in abandoned towns. Pausanias describes three places that were ruins at the time of his visit, but which still had flourishing sanctuaries: the old town of Hermione in the Argolid, Potniai in Boeotia and Zoitia in Arkadia. The old town of Hermione had "circuits of large unhewn stones, within which they perform mystic ritual to

³⁰Pausanias viii 42.

³¹Pausanias ii 34, 6ff. Jameson, et al, 1994, 519-521.

³²Herodotus ix 68. Pritchett, W. Kendrick: see the Catalogue of Sites under *Plataia* for bibliography and a summary of Pritchett's argument on the location of the sanctuary.

Demeter”, a description that suggests a local Thesmophoria³³. The sanctuary in the ruined town of Potniai included a sacred grove and *megara* into which piglets were dropped³⁴. Artifacts from the site indicate that it was in use as a sanctuary at least as early as the fifth century B.C., and possibly much earlier. Albert Schachter observes that it is possible that this site was used as a sanctuary in the Mycenaean period. Linear B tablet TH Of 36 records an allotment of wool for ‘the house of ‘Potniai’ and the Classical site of Potniai may have retained the name and perhaps even a memory of the cult³⁵. Zoitia is only described in passing as a ruined town with a thriving sanctuary of Demeter³⁶. These sanctuaries may, in actuality, be survivals of early intraurban sites, suggesting that in these locations Demeter’s worship was ancient and too revered to move when the inhabitants left and the cities fell into ruin

Monumental Sanctuaries

Monumental sanctuaries are those sites for which the opulence of the architecture and general development is more important than the location. There are two categories of monumental sites: cult centres and town ‘show pieces’. Cult centres include the panhellenic sanctuaries such as Eleusis or the local Arkadian cult site of Lykosura. These sanctuaries were monumentalised for many reasons, including, religious (providing sanctuary grounds that were appropriate to the status of the presiding deity), logistical (providing enough space to accommodate large numbers of votaries) and also importantly, political (propaganda for the town who managed the sanctuary). Town ‘show pieces’, such as the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon, glorified not only the deity, but also the cities and the rulers who constructed them.

The ‘cult centre’ category is exemplified by Eleusis. This sanctuary is located below the acropolis of Eleusis town on the east end of a ridge that is flanked by the sea on one side and the fertile Thriasian Plain on the other. A fortification wall surrounded both the town and the sanctuary, which were separated by a cross wall. The Hymn to Demeter attests that both the location of the sanctuary and the Mysteries celebrated there were believed to have been established by Demeter herself. The fame of the

³³Hermione: Pausanias ii 34, 10. Jameson, et al, 1994, 587.

³⁴Potnia: Pausanias ix 8, 1.

³⁵Schachter, 1981, 159, n. 4. Chadwick, in Spyropoulos and Chadwick, 89.

³⁶Zoitia: Pausanias viii 35, 6-7.

sanctuary grew until it became the panhellenic centre for Demeter's worship. People came from all over the Greek world to be initiated into her Mysteries. Each political controller of Athens, including the Romans, contributed money and structures to the sanctuary so that building programmes kept pace with the popularity of the cult. Although the development and aggrandisement of the site was undertaken both to accommodate the increasing number of initiates, and to give honour to Demeter, there was also a *strong* political element. The sanctuary was actively promoted to give prestige to Athens, and later, to provide a strong uniting religious centre for her empire³⁷.

Lykosura can be classified as a local cult centre. Pausanias records that "this Mistress the Arkadians worship more than any other god, declaring that she is the daughter of Poseidon and Demeter."³⁸ The sanctuary is smaller than a panhellenic site, but it was still developed in order to glorify the goddesses and to serve the needs of the numbers of Arkadians who came to worship there³⁹. As at Eleusis, some of the building campaigns were politically motivated. Evidence suggests that the site was refurbished when the Lykosurans gained their independence from Megalopolis in c 190 to 180 B.C., possibly as a symbol of pride and newly gained autonomy.⁴⁰ The sanctuary itself was located on a small, natural terrace on the side of a heavily forested and well watered hill. It contained a small prostyle temple with a superstructure of mud brick but with a white marble façade. The floors of the *pronaos* and *naos* were paved with limestone slabs, and a large marble cult statue carved by Damophon filled half the *naos*. Other cult structures found within the *temenos* include: a 65m long stoa, three

³⁷Shapiro, 67.

³⁸Pausanias viii 37, 9.

³⁹Lykosura has been included in this category despite the fact that it was not primarily a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter, but was primarily dedicated to Despoina, Demeter's daughter. The cult of Despoina was an Arkadian variant of the Kore and Demeter cult found throughout the rest of Greece. Despoina and Demeter, her mother, had strong oriental and magical characteristics that suggest the cult may have been very old, or that it developed in a different manner from the rest of Greece in the isolation of the Arkadian mountains. Artifacts from Lykosura indicate this different conception of the deities. Terracotta figurines from the sanctuary consist mainly of females with human bodies but the heads of rams or cows. This half human and half animal deity is not limited to Lykosura, but was also found in other Arkadian Demeter sanctuaries, for example, the cult statue from the sanctuary of Black Demeter (Μελαινίς) at Phigalia was comprised of a human body with a horse's head. Pausanias viii 31, 7 records that the familiar cult of the Eleusinian goddesses was introduced into Megalopolis (founded in 371/70 B.C.) and from there the accustomed cult of Demeter spread throughout Arkadia. Despoina, however, was not worshipped alone in Lykosura. Chthonic Demeter was also included in the cult, see: Pausanias viii 37, 2-3.

⁴⁰See: site catalogue: Lykosura.

altars dedicated to Demeter, to Despoina and to the Great Mother, and a megaron for the celebration of local Mysteries. To the south, uphill from the sanctuary, was a sacred grove of olive trees surrounded by a stone wall and containing altars to Horse Poseidon (ἵππιον Ποσειδῶνος) and other deities.

Pergamon's Demeter sanctuary is a good example of the second category of monumental sites, the 'town show-piece'. This sanctuary was originally small and extramural, located on its own terrace on the steep slope of the citadel. Pergamon, however, gradually grew until, in the second century B.C., the third town wall enclosed the sanctuary within the town limits. Despite the growth of the town, the sanctuary was always relatively isolated due to the rough terrain of the citadel and to the massive *temenos* wall that surrounded the sanctuary.

The sanctuary grew steadily from the fourth century B.C., but it was not until the rule of Philetaerus (283 to 263 B.C.) that the monumentalising of Pergamon, including the sanctuary, began. Philetaerus used the extensive resources of his treasury to develop Pergamon and neighbouring cities to gain support and to secure his position as ruler. In Pergamon he erected the temple of Athena, the earliest palace, a large defense or treasury tower on the citadel and a new town wall. Philetaerus, along with his brother Eumenes, also monumentalised Demeter's sanctuary on their mother's behalf. The sanctuary terrace was enlarged and a new supporting wall was constructed. The principal altar was rebuilt on a larger scale and an andesite temple with marble details was erected. New structures were added, including a seating area for watching festivals and the Lower North Stoa. The fourth building phase of the sanctuary took place under the auspices of Apollonis, the wife of Attalos I and mother of Eumenes II (c. 220 to 186 B.C.). Apollonis developed the forecourt, added the propylon, the Upper north stoa, the West stoa and south terrace wall. The exact date of the building program is not known because Apollonis outlived her husband and survived well into the reign of her son. Eumenes II expanded Pergamon into the largest kingdom in Asia Minor and this building programme, which made the Demeter sanctuary one of the most elaborate in Asia Minor, was probably commissioned to reflect this new status.

The Eleusinion at Athens is another example of a 'town show piece'. Extensive renovations were carried out in this sanctuary in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., when the sanctuary was enlarged and a large temple and a marble propylon were

added. At this time, viewing steps were also added to the exterior of the *peribolos* wall giving spectators a place to stand and watch ritual processions. This sanctuary was monumentalised for two reasons: firstly that it was located in a prominent position in the town, an area that was already highly developed and ornate and secondly that it was the starting point of the procession of the Mystae from Athens to Eleusis for the celebration of the Greater Mysteries. This festival was panhellenic and promoted by Athens as a unifying force for its empire. The Eleusinion was not as important as Eleusis, but it was necessary to have a sanctuary large enough, and ornate enough, to accommodate all the people who came to celebrate such a prestigious event.

PART ONE: CONCLUSIONS

In 1958, Y. Bequignon complained about the lamentable state of topographical studies of Demeter sanctuaries⁴¹; little has changed since. Some topographical studies have been published, but they are usually limited to single Thesmophorion sites⁴². The limited scope of most studies is understandable because the Thesmophorion was the most common type of Demeter site in the Greek world, but it was not the only kind of sanctuary sacred to this deity. All forms of sanctuaries should be examined in order to enable an overall understanding of Demeter's worship.

It is very clear from reading Pausanias and from categorizing sanctuaries that there were no strict or specific regulations for locating Demeter sites within a *polis*. Throughout the Greek world, from Asia Minor to Sicily, sanctuaries were found in various locales: within town limits, on town peripheries, in villages, in the farmlands, in the wilder hinterlands and along the territorial borders of a *polis*. Pausanias expresses no surprise at any of the locations of the sanctuaries which he describes, noting that many of them were supposedly founded by Demeter herself as a reward for receiving aid from individuals during her search for her abducted daughter. The date at which a Demeter sanctuary was founded also does not appear to have affected its location. Early topographical patterns are difficult to isolate because later

⁴¹Bequignon, 149.

⁴²Thompson, H., 1936, 5. Treheux, 1987, 495-99. Simon, E, 1983, 18. Schachter, A., 1992, 44.

development may have changed the relationship between a sanctuary and its town or there may have been multiple sanctuaries, but an examination of twenty-two Archaic sanctuaries (see Table Six) shows that they were built in equal numbers in both intraurban (isolated and public areas) and extraurban locations. It is evident that any and every location was acceptable for a sanctuary as long as the land was believed to be sacred to Demeter.

Sanctuary emplacements were not, however, random. There is some correlation between the site location and the cult festival celebrated at that site. Mysteries, such as those to Demeter Eleusinia and local versions loosely based on the Eleusinian festivals, were frequently held in remote, isolated but verdant and fertile areas⁴³. Unique local cults were also often associated with wild areas or natural features: groves, a hot spring, a cave or other geological formation. Myth often explained the relationship of the natural feature and its sanctity to Demeter. Sanctuaries dedicated to both Demeter and her daughter Kore were located in strategic mountain passes and along the borders of a *polis* territory⁴⁴ and were placed where they were for political as well as religious reasons. These sanctuaries had a political as well as a religious function; they emphasised Demeter's civilizing presence in a *polis* and they clearly marked the limit of claimed territory. The presence of these sanctuaries made it more difficult for neighbouring cities to expand their territories because to do so they would have to claim hallowed ground and in the process possibly insult the deity who was in control of grain production.

Unlike at some of the smaller shrines, the identity of the festivals celebrated within the larger extraurban, intraurban and monumental sanctuaries is often uncertain. These large sanctuaries seem to have been less restricted in the type, and even number, of festivals celebrated within their *temenos*. This is true for Acrocorinth, Cyrene,

⁴³Sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter Eleusinia: Basilis in Arkadia, Mykale in Asia Minor, Plataia in Boeotia and Mt. Taygetos in Lakonia. Sanctuaries with local Mysteries: Karnasian Grove in Messenia and Keleai in Corinthia.

⁴⁴Sanctuaries in mountain passes and on borders: Eileoi located in the mountain pass on the road from Troizen to Hermione, but inside the borders of Hermione, Plataia on the Pantanassa Ridge, east of Kriekouki, closer to the town of Hysiai than to Plataia, but still within the territory of Plataia and in Thermopylae (Anthela).

Pergamon, the Athenian Eleusinion, Piraeus and even for Eleusis itself. These large sanctuaries may have housed *polis*, town cults and the town Thesmophoria⁴⁵.

The topographical characteristics of the sanctuaries of Demeter Thesmophoros can be examined in more detail because of the popularity of this cult. Several ancient sources state that a Thesmophorion was set up on a hill⁴⁶. The first day of the Thesmophoria was even called Ἄνοδος, the Ascent, because celebrants ‘went up’ to the

⁴⁵Acrocorinth, Bookidis, N., personal communication, July 1994: The presence of the copious and unique dining halls on the lower slopes of the Acrocorinth sanctuary have caused Dr. Bookidis to be very hesitant in identifying the festival(s) practised there. It is not known who used these facilities or how they were regulated.

Pergamon: Architectural elements of this large sanctuary have caused the speculation that more than one festival to Demeter was held in the grounds. The dark and restricted lower floor of the South Stoa, the presence of hearth altars in the West stoa and North Oikoi, the easy availability of secrecy and the viewing steps on the north side suggest that this sanctuary was the location of the Thesmophoria. The numerous altars and the temple suggest that other, non-chthonic festivals were held within the *temenos* as well.

Athens Eleusinion: Pausanias’ description of the monuments of Athens causes confusion as to the location of the town Thesmophorion. Archaeologists have differing opinions as to whether the Thesmophoria was held in a separate sanctuary or whether it was held in a section of the Eleusinion grounds. See ‘Athens’ in the site catalogue for further discussion.

Piraeus: IG² 1177 (LSCG 36). The Thesmophorion in Piraeus was used for the Plerosia, the Kalamaia, the Skira and local cults.

Eleusis: Clinton, 1988, 72. The sanctuary at Eleusis was used for the celebration of the Mysteries and for the Thesmophoria of the local *deme*.

⁴⁶Thesmophorion located on hills:

SITE	TOPOGRAPHY	SOURCE
Athens Thesmophorion	Set up high in the town and had a sacred grove	<u>Thesmophoriazousae</u> 280, 584, 623, 657, 893, 1045
Megara	Set up high	Pausanias i 42, 6
Paros	on a hill in front of the town	Herodotus v 134
Piraeus	Set up high, Extraurban	IG II ² 573b; 1059; 1177, 21ff
Thebes, Demeter on the Kadmeia	on the height of the acropolis	Pausanias ix 16, 5
Troizen	Extraurban, overlooking Poseidon’s shrine, may be set up high	Pausanias ii 32, 8

Thesmophorion located away from an urban centre:

SITE	TOPOGRAPHY	SOURCE
Delos	located beside the sea on a gentle slope. Its actual location is unsure, possibly near the merchant port	IG XI ² 219a, 44-45
Halimous	near the sea	Pausanias i 31, 1
Hermione, Old town	abandoned town, remote	Pausanias ii 34,10
Kyllene, Mount	removed from Pheneos	Pausanias viii 15, 4
Smyrna	Extraurban	IvS II, i .655.
Potniai (?)	ruined town with grove	Pausanias ix 8, 1

sanctuaries⁴⁷. Modern authors reiterate this idea and add the notion that every Thesmophorion was located in an isolated area⁴⁸. Archaeological excavations, however, indicate that actually only a limited number of Thesmophoria were located in high, isolated areas. An examination of the locations of known Thesmophoria reveals that they could be established virtually anywhere⁴⁹:

- An *ex-voto* deposit and dedication to Demeter Thesmophoros was found in Rhodes which indicates that the Thesmophorion was situated near the merchant harbour.
- The early Thesmophorion of Cyrene and the Thesmophorion of Megalopolis were established within the *agora*.
- Four boundary stelai from Grotta, Naxos, suggest that their Thesmophorion was located in the centre of town⁵⁰.
- Mytilene, Thebes and Astypalaea each had a Thesmophorion on the height of the *acropolis*.
- Miletos and Eretria had intramural sanctuaries that were located in isolated and undeveloped areas of the town.
- Abdera had a small and isolated Thesmophorion, located near the exterior face of the Archaic town wall.
- The Thesmophoria of Potniai and Hermione were located in abandoned towns.

Why, then, is there a disparity between the written and physical record? It is possible that ancient sources record the most common sanctuary placement or, perhaps, the optimum conditions, a setting that fulfills the most important topographical requirements :

1. To have enough physical space to allow the worshippers ample room to celebrate
2. To provide enough secrecy, either natural or man-made, to guard the mysteries from outsiders.

Sanctuaries may have been set 'on high' because there was sufficient open space or the land was too steep and therefore not suitable for farming, housing, or for grand temples and other cult structures that required large areas of flat ground. Susan Cole, however, suggests that the location of these sanctuaries was not simply based on the

⁴⁷The ἄβοδος in Athens fell on the eleventh of Pyanopsion (October/November). Σ. Arist. *Thesmo.* 585, 623. Hesychius s.v. ἄβοδος.

⁴⁸Treheux, 1987, 495-99. Simon, 1983, 18. Schachter, 1992, 44.

⁴⁹See Table Five.

⁵⁰AR 1960-1961, 22. "Chronique", 1960, BCH 84, 812.

physical requirements of the cult, but instead was due to the character of Demeter and the purpose of the Thesmophoria. Sanctuaries were set up on hillsides in order to overlook the prime agricultural lands of the *polis* so that Demeter could properly supervise the fertility of the land and the progress of the crops⁵¹. Thesmophoria that were not located in these optimum conditions may either have been set out early in the development of a town and were subsequently surrounded by it, or the site may have been considered sacred to Demeter for peculiar local reasons of myth or history.

Another attribute of many sanctuaries, regardless to which category they belong, is isolation. This trait is demonstrated by many sanctuaries including: the intraurban sites at Priene, Knidos and Eretria, the extraurban sanctuaries at Abdera, Troy, Cyrene and Knossos, and by the monumental sanctuaries of Lykosura and Pergamon. Cole suggests that this isolation was an important element of Demeter's worship; she was the goddess of agriculture and so her connection with the countryside was vital. Sanctuaries, especially those located within town walls, were located away from urban areas and other structures so that the cult could maintain and even mimic the atmosphere of the open farmlands⁵². De Polignac further suggests that extraurban sanctuaries were purposefully located in isolation on the periphery of cities as a symbol of the transition of the countryside to the town. Demeter, especially in her guise as Thesmophoros, was active in both spheres, overseeing agricultural fertility and the civilized laws of mankind (*thesmoi*)⁵³.

The need for secrecy may also have contributed to the need for isolation. Secrecy was an important factor for any sanctuary that held Mysteries (whether Eleusinian, Thesmophorion or a local version thereof). The Hymn to Demeter clearly states that secrecy must be maintained for all mystery rites, and that this practice was set down by Demeter herself⁵⁴. Pausanias' unwillingness to describe sanctuaries and mystery festivals at Eleusis, the Karnasian Grove, Lykosura and of Kabeirian Demeter at

⁵¹Cole, 1994, 204ff.

⁵²Ibid. 214ff.

⁵³De Polignac, s.v. Chapter Two "*Le sanctuaire non urbain et la formation de la cité*".

⁵⁴Hymn to Demeter 478 - 490: "... she showed them the conduct of her rites and taught them all of her mysteries, ... awful mysteries which no one may in any way transgress or pry into or utter, for deep awe of the gods checks the voice."

Thebes demonstrates the importance of secrecy⁵⁵. Only initiates were allowed to know such information. Herodotus also indicates the importance of this secrecy when he mentions a punishment for a breach of privacy during the Athenians siege of Paros:

“When the Parians found that the Priestess Timo (a Priestess of subordinate rank of the Earth Goddess) had made her treacherous suggestion to Miltiades, they wanted to punish her; so as soon as the siege was raised they sent to Delphi to inquire if they would be right in putting her to death for giving to the enemy information which might have led to the ruin of her country, and for revealing to Miltiades the mysteries which no one of the male sex was allowed to know.”⁵⁶

Clearly secrecy was an important characteristic, but was it a significant determinant in the emplacement of Demeter sanctuaries? Curiously, as indicated above by the diverse locations of the Thesmophoria, privacy does not seem to have played an overriding rôle in topographical positioning. Sanctuaries that required secrecy devised methods other than location to ensure their privacy, including large *temenos* walls, temporary cult structures (wooden sheds or tents)⁵⁷ and temporary screening⁵⁸. The taboos against witnessing forbidden festivals and disclosing cult secrets to the uninitiated were also a major element in ensuring that secrecy was maintained⁵⁹.

Once a sanctuary was established its location was generally static. Moving was rare even if conditions were not favourable, or the town itself developed and the local topography changed. Abdera's Thesmophorion was frequently inundated by the Aegean, but the sanctuary was maintained even when the town itself moved to higher ground to escape the floods. The cities of Pergamon and Kos Meropis expanded until they incorporated their once extramural sanctuaries. This same reluctance to move sanctuaries can be seen in the orthogonally planned cities of Asia Minor. Artifacts from Demeter sites in Miletos and Iasos indicate that these sanctuaries were early

⁵⁵Eleusis: Pausanias i 38, 6; Karnasian Grove: Pausanias iv 33, 5; Lykosura: Pausanias viii 37, 9; Kabeirian Demeter at Thebes: Pausanias ix 25, 5.

⁵⁶Herodotus vi, 137.

⁵⁷Mantineia, Arkadia, IG V² 265, 266.

⁵⁸Acrocorinth: cut marks in the bedrock of the upper terrace near the rock-cut theatral area supported supports for temporary screens.

⁵⁹Schachter, 1992, 45 - in Athens a banner was raised for the duration of the Thesmophoria in order to warn men away from the women's secret ceremonies.

foundations, probably closely contemporaneous with the cities themselves. These early sanctuaries were located away from the town centres on the end of small peninsulas. Later, when the cities were rebuilt on an orthogonal plan the sanctuaries were retained in their original locations, outside the grid boundaries. It is clear that cities left their sanctuaries *in situ* unless the old site was completely untenable. An inscription from Tanagra discusses the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore which had to be moved from its old location⁶⁰. Three new locations were proposed, and so the town sent a delegation to Delphi to ask Apollo for advice. Apollo's response was interpreted to mean that the sanctuary should be moved inside the town walls. Plainly, moving a sanctuary was a very serious event requiring divine advice. A sanctuary belonged to Demeter; moving it could anger or upset her, resulting in a withdrawal of her blessings.

PART TWO: INTERNAL TOPOGRAPHY

Part Two investigates the internal topography of a Demeter sanctuary, examining what structures are found within the sacred boundaries. Many Demeter sites throughout the Greek world contained temples, stoas, fountains and numerous other cult related structures, while others were simple hypaethral spaces. The architectural differences among the various sanctuaries may give insight into cult practices and clarify the parameters by which these sanctuaries may be identified.

Architectural Elements:

Temenos Boundary:

Temenos boundary markers were a common feature of Demeter sanctuaries. Such markers have not always been found archaeologically and they were not always mentioned by ancient authors, but they were essential in all Greek sanctuaries for dividing the sacred from the profane. Individual boundary stones could be used for delineating Demeter sanctuaries, examples of such have been found at Thasos and at Grotta on Naxos, but a solid *peribolos* wall was more common. Large and solid walls

⁶⁰Reinach, Théodore, 1899, "Un temple élevé par les femmes de Tanagra", REG 12, 53-115.

were important for Demeter sanctuaries that required secrecy. These walls were made as thick and high as needed, and were equipped with gates that could be shut to keep out the uninitiated. At least seventy-two Demeter sanctuaries have archaeological or literary evidence of solid *temenos* walls⁶¹, fifty of these sites celebrated a mystery festival⁶².

Altars:

The altar was the most important feature of all Greek sanctuaries. It was the centre of worship and the focus of festivals. There were two basic types of altars, Olympian and chthonic. Olympian altars were raised above the ground, designed so that offerings would go upwards to the gods; chthonic altars were at ground level or even recessed into the earth, designed so that offerings would descend to the deities of the underworld. The altar type depended upon the deity worshipped and upon the specific festivals that were held in each sanctuary. Any Demeter sanctuary could contain an Olympian altar and/or a chthonic altar.

Olympian altars were generally rectangular with a stepped podium to allow the officiating priest or priestess to stand close to the altar but above the attending worshippers. Remains of this type of altar have been found in many Demeter sanctuaries, including Kyparissi, Eleusis, Eretria (Archaic site)⁶³, Lykosura, Miletos, Mytilene, Olympia, Pergamon, Priene, Selinus and Troy.

The chthonic ground altar, or *eschara*, was a simple structure, usually rectangular, consisting of a stone border laid into the earth. Offerings were burned on the earth in

⁶¹Abdera, Acrocorinth, Mount Aegaleus, Aigion, all Demeter sanctuaries at Akragas, Anthedon, Argos, Arsinoeia, Athenian Demeter sanctuaries, Demeter sanctuaries at Cyrene, Delos, Didyma, Dion, Eleusis, Eretria, Eutresis, Grigori Korfi, Halikarnassos, Hermione, Iasos, Karnasian Grove, Knidos, Knossos, Koroneia, Kallipolis, Kyparissi and Meropis on Kos, Kranea, Mount Kyllene, Lerna, Lykosura, Mantinea, Megalopolis Demeter sanctuaries, Miletos, Myasion, Mykale, Mykalessos, Mysia, Mytilene, Onkion, Paros, Patrai, Pella, Pergamon, Phaleron, Pheneos, Phlious, Plataia, Potniai, Priene, Pyraia, Selinus, Sikyon, Stiris, Tanagra, Mount Taygetos, Tegea, Thaliades (Dimitra), Thasos, Thebes, Thespaia, Troizen, Troy, Xobourgo and Zoitia. See entries in the site catalogues for more information on specific sites.

⁶²Abdera, Acrocorinth, Argos, Athenian Eleusinion, Kyparissi and Meropis on Kos, Agora sanctuary of Demeter at Cyrene, Delos, Dion (?), Eleusis, Eretria, Eutresis, Grigori Korfi (?), Hermione, Iasos, Karnasian Grove, Knidos (?), Koroneia, Mount Kyllene, Lerna, Lykosura, Mantinea(?), Megalopolis, Miletos, Mykale, Mykalessos, Mysia(?), Mytilene, Onkion, Paros, Pergamon, Phaleron, Pheneos, Phlious, Plataia, Potniai, Priene(?), Selinus, Stiris(?), Tanagra, Mount Taygetos, Thaliades (Dimitra), Thasos, Thebes, Thespaia, Troizen, Xobourgo(?) and Troy.

⁶³See note 14.

the open central area. Simple rectangular *eschara* have been found in the Demeter sanctuaries of Abdera, Acrocorinth, Cyrene, Iasos and Xobourgo. More complex versions of this altar type also existed⁶⁴. The presence of a ground altar may indicate that the sanctuary was a Thesmophorion, but it is important to note that this is not an infallible method of identification because Olympian altars could host chthonic rites⁶⁵. The upper sanctuary of Troy clearly demonstrates this phenomenon. In this sanctuary the ground level of the *temenos* gradually rose until it was higher than the central *eschara*. A stone-lined pit was constructed around the altar so that it was still accessible but eventually, the ground rose so much that the pit alone became the altar. The whole *temenos* was then refurbished under the auspices of Alexander the Great. At this time, the *eschara* was replaced by a large, Olympian altar and even provided with a stepped podium to give the officiating priest or priestess room to stand; the cult, however, remained chthonic⁶⁶. Lykosura provides another example; here the altars were always of the Olympian form despite the fact that the deities of the site were Despoina and Demeter Chthonia⁶⁷.

All sanctuaries had at least one altar but many had multiple examples. It is not always clear to whom the multiple altars were dedicated, but sometimes inscriptional evidence or ancient sources give such details. The typical arrangement of altars was such that a large, and often ornate, central altar was dedicated to Demeter while other altars could be dedicated to a variety of deities, including: Kore-Persephone, Hades, Hekate or a local deity. Pausanias notes that Lykosura had three altars, one dedicated to Demeter, one to Despoina and one to the Great Mother⁶⁸. At Eleusis, inscriptional evidence mentions twin altars of the goddesses⁶⁹. These two large altars were probably located in the courtyard in front of the Telesterion, sitting side by side with only a small space in between, so that an officiating priest could work at one or both altars without moving. A combination of Olympian and chthonic altars in one

⁶⁴Complex *escharas* have been excavated at Troy and Mytilene. The upper sanctuary at Troy which is tentatively identified as a sanctuary of Kybele, contained an *eschara* that was roughly the shape of the letter J. The altar's construction was typical consisting of a low stone wall with an open central area. The centre of the altar was filled with burned earth, ash and calcined bone. For a description of the *eschara* at Mytilene see Chapter Two, "Individual structures J, K and L".

⁶⁵Yavis, 94

⁶⁶Thompson, D.B., 1963 and Blegen, 1973, 683ff.

⁶⁷Pausanias viii 37-38.

⁶⁸Pausanias viii 37, 2.

⁶⁹IG II² 1672.141 (c 446-440 B.C.).

sanctuary suggests that in these sites Demeter was worshipped in at least two guises. The *temenos* at Pergamon contained five Olympic-type altars and two *eschara* and Mytilene contained six altars, of which five were chthonic in nature. These sanctuaries may have been the location of both chthonic and non-chthonic festivals, including the Thesmophoria.

The extramural sanctuary at Cyrene is the only known Demeter site that did not have a permanent altar, instead numerous small and portable altars were used. These portable altars ranged from small terracotta thymiaterion to large monolithic stone objects. All the altars exhibited burning, indicating that they were indeed used for burnt offerings. The smaller altars were possibly used for offering incense and bloodless sacrifices (first fruits?) while blood offerings (piglets?) were offered on the large stone varieties which could withstand greater heat and longer burning periods.

Bothroi:

A common feature of chthonic sanctuaries was the *bothros*, a pit, either natural or man-made, which was used as a repository for offerings dedicated to chthonic deities⁷⁰. These offerings included libations of wine or blood and more substantial objects like pottery and terracotta figurines. Dedications were placed in these pits because they channelled the offerings directly to the underworld deities. Numerous examples of *bothroi* have been found in Demeter's sanctuaries, including the extramural sanctuary at Cyrene and Acrocorinth. In the sanctuary at Cyrene three natural holes were discovered in the cult structure known as 'S7'. One hole had not been used, but the other two were open and would have been on view. No artifacts were found within these *bothroi*, so it is likely they were used to receive liquid offerings. At Acrocorinth, the upper and middle terraces preserve numerous examples of both man-made stone-lined and natural pits.

⁷⁰I do not include under the heading of '*bothroi*', deposits of *ex-voto* materials that were placed in natural crevices in bedrock or in holes purposely dug to receive them. Such *ex-voto* material was not an original dedication to the deity, but instead the result of cleaning excess votives away from the display or offering areas of the sanctuary. These materials were deposited in sacred ground because the offerings still belonged to the deity, even if they were no longer on display.

Megaron:

A *megaron*, an underground chamber for depositing offerings to chthonic Demeter and Kore, is supposedly one of the most characteristic features of a Thesmophorion. One of the central ceremonies of the Thesmophoria festival was the retrieval of the '*thesmoi*', the remains of cakes and pigs which had been 'thrown down' at an earlier date into a pit, or *megaron*. Women called *Antletriai*, Bailers, descended into the *megaron* and retrieved the *thesmoi*, placing it on two altars, one dedicated to Demeter and one dedicated to Kore. The *thesmoi* was then mixed with a small quantity of grain, which in turn was mixed with private stocks of seed grain which was to be planted in the next sowing period. These actions ensured the grain's productivity. Despite the importance of *megara*, such features are known at very few Thesmophoria. Ancient sources give evidence for a single *megaron* in the Thesmophorion at Piraeus and in the Thesmophorion at Paros, while Pausanias mentions multiple *megara* at Potniai⁷¹. It is possible that a *megaron* did not have to be a natural hole, but could also be man-made. If this is the case, the man-made, stone-lined and roofed square pit at Priene, sometimes identified as a *bothros*, could have been a *megaron*. The large hole cut into the bedrock at the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros at Miletos may also have been a *megaron*. It is not known what, or even if, other temporary or permanent structures were used at sanctuaries that did not have a *megaron*.

Cult Structures:

The simplest sanctuaries were open-air, containing no cult buildings of any type, identified only by the *temenos* boundary marker and an altar. The remains of such simple sanctuaries are preserved at Abdera, Troy, the agora sanctuary at Cyrene, and possibly the Athenian Thesmophorion⁷². Pausanias also notes that Lebadeia had an

⁷¹Piraeus: IG II² 1177, 5ff. Paros: Herodotus vi 134, 2. Potniai: Pausanias ix 8, 1.

⁷²The identity of the Athenian Thesmophorion is problematic. Thompson, H., 1936, 151-200, suggests the sanctuary was located just below the assembly area on the Pnyx in an open rock-cut terrace. If the Thesmophorion was located here, a long stoa *may* have formed part of the sanctuary. Broneer, 1942, 250ff, on the other hand, believes the Pnyx could not have been the location for the sanctuary and states that the Eleusinion adjacent to the Agora was used as the town Thesmophorion.

open-air sanctuary⁷³. It is possible that many other sanctuaries were also hypaethral, but it was not common for there to be no buildings at all within a given *temenos*.

Demeter's sanctuaries often contained a central cult building. There were two main types, the temple⁷⁴ and the plain *oikos*, although they seem to have played the same cultic rôle - the home of the deity and location of the cult statue. If a Demeter sanctuary possessed a cult building, the most commonly constructed type was the traditional temple⁷⁵. Temples did, however, tend to be small, often distyle *in antis*. Peripteral temples were not common. Temples are found in all types of Demeter sanctuaries, but they are not prevalent in Thesmophoria. Of the seventeen Demeter sanctuaries with archaeological evidence for temples, only four have been tentatively identified as Thesmophoria: Iasos, Miletos, Pergamon and Aptaera. Among the sites with temples described by Pausanias, only two are identified by him as Thesmophoria: Hermione and Megalopolis⁷⁶. Homer Thompson argues that the scarcity of temples in

⁷³Lebadeia: Pausanias ix 39, 2-4.

⁷⁴A 'temple' for the purposes of this chapter is specifically a structure with at least a *naos* and a *pronaos* with columns, either prostyle or *in antis*.

⁷⁵See Table Seven at the end of this chapter for comparisons of sanctuary architecture.

Demeter sanctuaries with archaeological evidence for temple: Akragas: distyle *in antis* temple dedicated to Demeter. Aptaera: temple consisting of a *cella* and a *pronaos* distyle *in antis*, late second century B.C., dedicated to Demeter (?)Thesmophoros. Arsinoeia (Black Sea): architectural blocks and palmette antefixes suggest the presence of a temple, dedicated to Demeter and Kore. Athens: Eleusinion, fifth century B.C. temple, 17.10m by 11m, dedicated to Demeter Eleusinia; Kos: Kos Meropis, long and narrow temple 24m by 6m with preserved base for the cult statue, sanctuary and spring dedicated to Demeter and Kore. Dimitra: three sites are identified as the possible location of the Demeter sanctuary. All three sites preserve the remains of a small temple, sanctuary dedicated to Eleusinian Demeter and Kore. Iasos: temple with a *naos* and *pronaos* distyle *in antis*, dedicated to Demeter (?)Thesmophoros. Knossos: Classical period Doric temple, columns *in antis*, 10m by 5.50m, dedicated to Demeter. Kranea: Doric temple dedicated to Demeter and Kore. Lepreon: Doric peripteral temple with six by eleven columns, *cella* and *pronaos* distyle *in antis*, dedicated to Demeter. Lykosura: prostyle, hexastyle temple with a three-stepped stylobate, 21.35m by 12.31m, unfluted columns, dedicated to Despoina and Chthonic Demeter. Miletos: Ionic temple, 22.3m by 11.5m, consisting of a *cella* and tetrastyle porch, dedicated to Demeter (?)Thesmophoros. Pergamon: Ionic temple, *naos* and *pronaos*, distyle *in antis*, three-step stylobate, constructed of andesite with marble forehall added by the Romans in A.D. second or third century, 14.10m by 7.95m, dedicated to Demeter (?)Thesmophoros. Plataia: Pausanias ix 4, 3 and Herodotus ix 62, 1; 65, 2 mention a temple and there is possible archaeological confirmation with the discovery of stylobate blocks and decorated roof tiles. Koroneia: IG VII. 2876 may indicate there was a temple on the sanctuary grounds dedicated to Demeter Thesmophoros. Tanagra: REG 12 (1899) 53-115: decree dealing with the relocation of the Demeter sanctuary and provisions for building a temple in the new sanctuary grounds dedicated to Demeter and Kore. Pausanias also mentions temples at: Argos, Athens' Dipylon Gate, New Town of Hermione, Mount Kyllene, Megalopolis, Mykale, Nisaia, Onkion, Olympia, Pallantion, Paros, Mount Parthenion, Phaleron and Skolos.

⁷⁶Hermione: Pausanias ii 35, 4-8. Megalopolis Marsh Gates: viii 36, 6.

Thesmophorion sanctuaries was probably because the votaries were women, and so men did not want to spend the money required for sanctuary aggrandisement⁷⁷.

— *Oikoi* were simple structures, usually consisting of a single small room, although multiple room structures were also built. This structure did not, as a general rule, employ columns in its plan. Simple *oikoi* are found at Kallipolis on the Black Sea, at Eretria in Euboea (both sanctuaries), at Kyparissi on Kos, at Grigori Korfi on Crete and possibly at Potniai in Boeotia. At each of these sites, the *oikos* consisted of a single room, presumably roofed, ranging in size from 2.60m by 2.60m (preserved dimensions) at Potniai, 7m by 4m at Eretria (Archaic site) and up to nearly 6m by 5.5m at Kyparissi. The simple *oikos* was not only found in smaller sanctuaries. Acrocorinth, one of the largest Demeter sanctuaries may also have had such a building. The structure was located at the head of the monumental staircase, in the upper terrace where cultic activity was centred. Unfortunately, the remains are not sufficiently well-preserved to identify the structure securely as an *oikos*; it could also have been a small temple. The extramural sanctuary at Cyrene is unique among known Demeter sanctuaries because it did not contain a single cult building, but instead the *temenos* is dotted with small, single-room independent *oikoi* that the excavators called 'Sacred houses'. These structures ranged in size from 4m by 6m for the smallest to 6m by 7m for the largest. Offerings were found within these structures, either set up on natural bedrock ledges or deposited in sink holes in the floor. Unfortunately, there is no indication as to how each structure was used or to whom it was dedicated.

Multi-room *oikoi* were also constructed in sanctuaries, but they were less common. Priene's sanctuary preserves the best known example. This *oikos* consisted of three rooms and a forehall. The forehall was built in the Doric order with two columns *in antis*, but the structure did not resemble the traditional temple. It was roughly L-shaped, with a large *cella* and two smaller rooms attached to the north side. The *cella* was entered through an off-centre door in the forehall. Marble-faced rubble benches lined three of the *cella*'s interior walls. Votives were placed on these benches and on two offering tables which were located across from the entrance. Two smaller rooms flanked the north end of the *cella*. A door in the south wall of the forehall afforded access to an exterior stone-lined *megaron* or *bothros*. The *bothros* apparently dictated

⁷⁷Thompson, H., 1936, 187.

the design of the cult building; the unusual ground plan was the result of fitting this structure into the available space around the *bothros*.

Bedrock:

An important, and often overlooked, element of chthonic Demeter sanctuaries is the use of bedrock. Raw bedrock was occasionally purposefully exposed and then incorporated unaltered into cult structures. The sanctity of bedrock is exemplified by a natural spur which was retained on view in the *anaktoron*, 'the holy of holies', at Eleusis. This closed room was situated within the Telesterion, entry was prohibited to all but the *hierophant* and the highest priests. Bedrock was also used as building materials for cult structures and *temenos* walls. This rock may have just been a convenient building material, but it also may have had a cultic significance in chthonic sanctuaries. The cultic use of bedrock is especially evident in the extramural sanctuary of Demeter at Cyrene. In this sanctuary, Sacred House shrines retain no trace of man-made floors. It is possible that wooden flooring was used, but wear patterns on the exposed rock and natural sink holes which contained votive offerings imply that the bedrock was left exposed⁷⁸. Sacred House S7 provides a good example; the bedrock sloped awkwardly upwards from the entrance to the back of the structure where a shelf of the bedrock was left in place along the back wall of the shrine. A plastered limestone-slab bench was constructed along the top of this ledge, but a 65cm wide strip of natural bedrock was retained immediately in front. The bedrock contained three sink holes. These holes did not contain any votive offerings; instead they were used as libation holes where offerings were sent directly into the underworld through the bedrock⁷⁹. Further evidence for the importance of bedrock in S7 was found during excavation; all strata followed the awkward slope of the bedrock indicating that bedrock surface was exposed when the first layer of soil was deposited after the House went out of use.

Bedrock was utilized in the Demeter sanctuaries at Eretria and at Mytilene, but in both sites it is difficult to ascertain if the bedrock had a specific cultic meaning, or if it was used merely because it was a convenient building material. In the *temenos* of the

⁷⁸White, 1981, 20-21.

⁷⁹White, 1976, 167. The westernmost hole was plugged with clay and not used. The middle hole measured 37cm by 22cm by 28cm deep. The final hole measured 44cm by 46cm and was 41cm deep.

Archaic/Classical sanctuary at Eretria, substantial areas of bedrock were exposed to view. Access to the site was via a smoothed bedrock path which led from the sanctuary entrance, around the south side of the cult structure and to the altar. A natural hole in the bedrock was also used as a receptacle for *ex-voto* materials. In the sanctuary at Mytilene, bedrock was used as a major component of the building materials for all the structures in the sanctuary, including the *temenos* wall, altars and cult building. Natural spurs of bedrock were also incorporated into the hearth altars and weathering patterns suggest that some areas of bedrock were open to view. Mytilene also has a well preserved *bothros* and traces of at least two other similar offering pits.

Stoas:

The stoa was a general purpose building that was a common feature in many Greek sanctuaries⁸⁰. They were generally located along the borders of a sanctuary, its open colonnaded front facing into the central open space of the *temenos*. Stoas were used as display areas for artworks or votives, areas for cultic activities, temporary shelter for visiting votaries or just as shelter from the weather. Despite their widespread use in sanctuaries in general, they were not common elements of Demeter sanctuaries, found in only seven sites⁸¹.

The ground plan of the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros at Iasos is poorly preserved, disturbed by subsequent construction, but a fifth century refurbishment of the site may have included a stoa⁸². A tentative reconstruction of the site includes an open central court with a stoa, or stoas, lining the western side of the *temenos*. Thermopylae's sanctuary of Demeter Amphyctionys contained a stoa and little else. Excavations have brought to light a 65m long stoa and a stadium. It is possible that the sanctuary contained such a large stoa in order to house the delegates of the Delphic Amphyctiony who met each autumn in the sanctuary. The sanctuary on Thasos preserves traces of a single fourth century B.C. stoa which was located on a

⁸⁰See: Coulton, J.J., 1976. The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa. Oxford: Clarendon Press for a full analysis of the functions of the stoa in general and their importance in Greek sanctuaries. Coulton also provides a catalogue of sanctuaries, agoras, etc. where stoas were used.

⁸¹Stoas have been found in the sanctuaries of: Athens Eleusinion (a Roman addition to the site), Iasos, Lykosura, Pergamon, Proerni, Thasos and Thermopylae.

⁸²The sanctuary at Iasos was rebuilt c 410 B.C.

small terrace cut out of the rock of the sanctuary hill. It was a II-shaped structure with its open face on the north side, looking towards the sea. A bench lined the interior of all three walls. The only remains still preserved of the Demeter sanctuary at Proerni in Phthiotis are the foundations of a large fourth century B.C. stoa, measuring 30m long by 6m wide. Its location and orientation within the sanctuary are not known. The Eleusinion in Athens did not contain a stoa until the Roman period when a simple stoa was added to the south end of the sanctuary. Lykosura had a single Doric stoa that lined the north boundary of the sanctuary⁸³. The stoa was a shallow single-aisled structure that may not have had a major role in the festivals of the sanctuary; instead it seems to have been a viewing area for art and possibly votives. There was, however, a closed-in room at the west end of this structure that may have been used for storing cult paraphernalia.

Theatral Areas:

Theatral areas, like stoas, were not common features of Demeter sites. They are found only in the largest sanctuaries. Acrocorinth had two small theatral areas within the uppermost section of the sanctuary. They were very simple structures consisting of rows of shallow seats carved into the bedrock of the slope, each seating eighty-five to ninety people. Despite the simplicity of their design, these theatres were in use for a long period. One of the seating areas was cut out of the rock as early as the sixth century B.C., and both were in use into the Roman period. The age of these features and the number of people who could participate at one time suggests that an important but intimate ritual was conducted there. The monumental site of Eleusis contained only a single small rock-cut, hypaethral theatral area. It was located close to the Lesser Propylaea, near the Plutonion. The small viewing area was presumably the location of rituals connected with the Plutonion and/or a viewing area to watch processions as they entered the sanctuary through the Lesser Propylaea. Theatral areas may not have been necessary even at this large sanctuary because the large, purpose-built Telesterion could have fulfilled all such needs.

⁸³Pausanias viii 37, 1-2: "As you go to the temple there is a portico [stoa] on the right, with reliefs of white marble on the wall. On the first relief are wrought Fates with Zeus surnamed Guide of Fate (Ζεὺς ἐπὶ κλησὶν Μοιραγέτης), and on the second Herakles wrestling a tripod from Apollo.... In the portico by the Mistress (Despoina) there is, between the reliefs I have mentioned, a tablet with descriptions of the mysteries."

A set of five seats carved from a single block of solid marble were recovered from the river bed near the sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia at Kalyvia Sokhas⁸⁴. Four of the seats are plain with rough bases and backrests, but the fifth seat is clearly a seat of honour - all sides of this seat are decorated in flat relief and the seat-back is carved in a tilted position for comfort. These seats suggest that this sanctuary had one of the largest and most lavish theatral areas of any known Demeter site because no evidence of marble seating has come to light from other Demeter sites.

Pergamon and perhaps Lykosura, both monumental sanctuaries, were the only two Demeter sites known to have contained both stoas and theatral areas. Pergamon had four stoas: the Lower and Upper North stoas, the West stoa and the South stoa. The theatral area is located on the north side of the *temenos*, abutting the North Stoas. These four stoas and the theatral area form the outer boundaries of the sanctuary, leaving a central open area for the performance of festivals and for other cult structures including the temple and altars. The South Stoa, however, may have had a specific ritual use with a function in the rites of the Thesmophoria. This building is situated along the southern boundary of the sanctuary. It was a Pergamene-style stoa with two floors. The top floor faced in towards the central court of the sanctuary but the gallery below, which in a typical Pergamene stoa would have had an open colonnade facing the opposite direction, was walled-in with only four small doors for access. This level was dark, the only light entering from small windows high in the outer face. The atypical design of the structure caused the excavators to conclude that at least the lower gallery of the stoa was important for the celebration of chthonic ritual⁸⁵.

Lykosura's theatral area is problematic. In the site, there is a preserved stepped area located directly to the south of the temple dug into the side of a natural hill. It consists of ten rows of stone seating which narrowed progressively until the uppermost row is the same width as the temple. A door on the south side of the temple gave direct

⁸⁴The seats were found in the river bed after two large floods destroyed the sanctuary in 1947. It is possible that these seats do not belong to the Demeter sanctuary, but there was no evidence recovered that suggested an independent theatre or any other sanctuaries were located near to the sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia. Other marble finds from the sanctuary included: architectural fragments and pieces of a carved table top with a dedication to Demeter on its edge. These objects and votive materials (terracottas figurines and pottery) were also found in the river channel.

⁸⁵Dörpfeld, 1912, 237. Bohtz, 1981, 21.

access to the area. This feature has been variously identified as 1) a theatral area, 2) as a staircase leading to the sacred grove and other sanctuaries located above the sanctuary, 3) as a stepped support wall to keep the slope from slumping on to the temple below and 4) as the hall or megaron described by Pausanias where the Arkadians performed their mysteries⁸⁶.

Stoas and theatral areas were not of primary importance in Demeter sites. It is possible that more sanctuaries contained such features, and that they either have not been preserved or they were not mentioned by ancient sources; but it seems that only the largest sanctuaries had theatral areas and only a few sanctuaries boasted stoas. The absence of these structure types may be due to a number of reasons, for example, because they were not necessary for ritual practices, it was not deemed necessary to build such structures when an open field or a hillside could serve, there was not enough physical space within the sanctuary grounds, or perhaps temporary shelters were used to house participants⁸⁷ or even cultic rituals for the duration of festivals⁸⁸.

Miscellaneous Structures:

A whole range of special features and smaller, ancillary buildings can also be found in Demeter sanctuaries. A surprisingly common feature is a grove of sacred trees, consisting of cypresses, oaks, olives or a mix of many tree types⁸⁹. It was principally

⁸⁶Pausanias viii 37, 8: “παρὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Δεσποίνης ὀλίγον ἐπαναβάντι ἐν δεξιᾷ Μέγαρόν ἐστι καλούμενον, καὶ τελετὴν τε δρᾶσιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῇ Δεσποίνῃ θύουσιν ἱερεῖα οἱ Ἀρκάδες πολλὰ τε καὶ ἄφθονα.”

⁸⁷Temporary shelters, usually tents, were often used by visitors as accommodation for the duration of a festival. Such temporary accommodation is attested at Olympia, Delphi, the Samian Heraion and at the Demeter sanctuary at Andania. The inscription IG V¹ 1390, section VII from Andania records limitations on the size, location and decorations of temporary accommodations for people who were participating in the Mysteries.

⁸⁸A small amount of evidence for such a practice is provided by inscriptions from Mantinea. IG V² 265 and 266 describe a festival called the *Koragia*, which celebrates Kore's returned from the lower world. The festival consisted of processions and then sacrifices and secret rites which were held in a temporary hut constructed for this purpose. Secrecy may also have been augmented at some sanctuaries by the use of temporary screening. R. Stroud (1968, 306) suggested that cuttings in the back of the theatral area on the upper terrace of the sanctuary may have been made to hold the supports for a temporary screen set up to hide the small theatral area from the lower sanctuary.

⁸⁹Sanctuaries with sacred groves:

Mount Alesion: Pausanias viii 10, 1 sacred wood of Demeter on the mountain.

Anthedon: Pausanias ix 22, 5 sacred grove in the middle of the town associated with a sanctuary of the Kabeiroi, with a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore located close by.

Athens Thesmophorion : Thesmophoriazousae 1148.

Isthmia the Sacred Glen: IG IV, 203 lists five sanctuaries located in the Sacred Glen.

Karnesian Grove: Pausanias iv 33, 4. grove of cypress trees.

the remote Demeter sanctuaries which were associated with sacred groves⁹⁰, but sanctuaries found within the boundaries of a town could also have a small grove included within their grounds. The Thesmophorion in Athens and the sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter in the agora of Megalopolis both contained sacred groves. Another common feature was a water source. Water was an important element of many sanctuaries, not just those of Demeter. It was commonly considered to be sacred in Greece, a hot and dry country where drought was not unknown, and it was an important substance in purification rites. Water, however, had a special significance in the cult of Demeter because of its importance in agriculture. Many of the sanctuaries which had sacred groves also had natural springs, but many sites also had wells, or diverted water to the sanctuary or had elaborate catchment techniques. The sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinus contained a well which was filled from a stone-lined canal that diverted water from a nearby spring, and Acrocorinth had a complex system of cisterns to catch and store rain water. A well at Eleusis, the Parthenion, is mentioned in the Homeric Hymn. Demeter sat on this well-head to rest while she was searching for Kore and there she met the daughters of the King of Eleusis⁹¹, while both Pergamon and Priene had permanent fountains built at the entrance to their respective Demeter sanctuaries.

Demeter sanctuaries were typically not rich in architecture, although some ancillary buildings were occasionally found in the larger sanctuaries. These structures included living quarters for officiating priests or priestesses⁹², treasuries⁹³, store rooms⁹⁴,

Lykosura: Pausanias viii 38: above the Hall is the Mistress's sacred wood surrounded with a stone barrier, included a true and wild olive growing from the same root.

Megalopolis Marsh Gate Sanctuary: Pausanias viii 36, 6: temple and sacred grove of Demeter in which only women are allowed.

Myasion: Pausanias vii 27, 9: sacred grove found seven and a half miles from the town of Pellene, with all kinds of trees and abundant spring water.

Mount Parthenion: Pausanias viii 54, 5: Demeter of the sacred oak-wood.

Patrai: Pausanias vii 21, 11: sacred grove beside the sea and spring water.

Piraeus: IG II², 1177, 17ff and IG II², 2498.

Mount Pontinos: Pausanias ii 37, 1-2: sacred wood with statues inside its boundaries.

Potniai: Pausanias ix 8, 1: a sacred grove of Demeter and Kore included in the ruins of the town of Potniai.

Pyraia: Pausanias ii 11, 3: grove called Pyraia with a sanctuary inside to Demeter and Kore.

Thebes Kabeirian Demeter: Pausanias ix 25, 5: grove of Kabeirian Demeter and Kore; only the initiated could enter inside.

⁹⁰ Remote Demeter Sanctuaries are discussed in the first section of this chapter.

⁹¹ Hymn to Demeter 90 - 99.

⁹² Eleusis and possibly Priene have the remains of living areas for officiating personnel.

votive repositories⁹⁵ and small votive buildings put up by priests/priestesses who had finished their terms⁹⁶.

Two Demeter sanctuaries have buildings unique to them. The first, not surprisingly, is found at the panhellenic sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis, the Telesterion. It was an exceptional structure, purposely constructed to house the Mystery rituals. The Telesterion was a hall which was rebuilt and enlarged many times. Its roof was finally supported by a veritable forest of columns, and seats for the celebrants, the *mystai*, lined all four walls. A separate and closed-off room, the *anaktoron*, was located within the great hall. This was a 'holy of holies', a room that only the *hierophant* could enter. The *teletai*, the main ceremony of the Greater Mysteries took place here. It is estimated that approximately 3,000 *mystai* could have attended.

The second unique building type is found at Acrocorinth. There, the Lower Terrace contained numerous dining facilities. These dining halls, from their earliest construction in the sixth century B.C., were limited to this area of the sanctuary, eventually spanning an area of over 50m on each side of the central monumental stairway. The sixth and fifth century dining halls consisted of a series of linearly arranged rooms, usually between two and seven in number. Each individual room had an offset door and was lined with benches, accommodating up to seven diners. The Hellenistic dining complexes were similar to the earlier versions, except they also contained up to three specialized rooms: 1) a room with basins and water-proof plaster on the walls and floor which was used for ritual ablutions, 2) a room that served as a kitchen and service area, and 3) a small room lined with benches that may have been a waiting room to use either before or after a ritual meal. Many dining facilities also contained sacrificial pits, used both for bloodless and animal offerings. The indisputable importance of ritual dining at Acrocorinth is made apparent by the

⁹³The remains of possible treasuries have been excavated at Miletos and on Xobourgo. IG V¹ 1390 discusses provisions for two treasuries to be constructed at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at the Karnasian Grove in Messenia.

⁹⁴Remains have been excavated at Miletos and on Xobourgo that have been identified as either store rooms or treasuries. Large granaries were constructed at Eleusis to store the first fruit offerings of grain.

⁹⁵Sir Charles Newton excavated artifact repositories in both Knidos and Halikarnassos. At both sites, small votive offerings were laid out like "articles in a shop" in structures located within the *temenos* boundaries.

⁹⁶Cook, J.M., 1950, 265. Remains excavated at Kalyvia Sokhas have been tentatively identified as a small structure built by a woman who had finished her term as a priestess.

three major building phases of the sanctuary; the dining complexes were the focus of each phase. Dining-halls have not been uncovered at any other Demeter sanctuary. This does not imply that dining was not important at other sanctuaries, and indeed pottery suggests that dining was an important event; instead it suggests that ritual dining at other Demeter sanctuaries was an hypaethral activity.

PART TWO: CONCLUSIONS

In section two of this chapter, Demeter sanctuaries were examined through their component parts. Several questions arise from this analysis:

Is there an easily recognised and identifiable Demeter sanctuary type? Unfortunately, there is not. Demeter's sanctuaries differ on the basis of what cult and festivals were celebrated within their grounds, and on how important Demeter was in a individual town, *polis* or even geographical area. Sanctuaries cannot be placed in concise categories, but there are some general developmental tendencies. The small number of large, highly developed and complex sanctuaries were either cult centres (local or panhellenic) or monumentalised *polis* show-pieces. The vast majority of sites, however, were small to medium sized and not overly sumptuous. The Topographical Cross-Reference Chart supplied at the end of this chapter demonstrates that Demeter sanctuaries could contain temples, *oikoi*, stoas, theatral areas, treasuries, storerooms, priests quarters, votive repositories and structures unique to a single sanctuary, but only the larger sanctuaries contained what might be called 'luxury' architecture such as stoas and theatral areas. Smaller sanctuaries seemingly 'made do' with a hillside or open field for festivities. The architecture tended to be limited in scope, possibly including a cult building and an altar, and it was generally functional, rather than aesthetic. In general, completely hypaethral sanctuaries were uncommon; instead a *temenos* often contained a small temple *in antis* or an *oikos*. Peripteral temples, however, were rare. Marble was not commonly used as a building material, probably due to its expense; instead rubble, mud brick or local stone was utilized.

Why then, were the majority of Demeter sanctuaries neither large nor opulent? There are a several answers to this question: first, these smaller sanctuaries are actually typical of Greek sanctuaries in general. Large, grand and expensive sanctuaries were

the exception and not the rule⁹⁷. Acropolis sanctuaries and large cult areas in planned orthogonal cities could be grand and expansive, but the usual Greek sanctuary was small and contained only enough architecture required to worship the deity in an appropriate manner. Second, Demeter was not a town patroness. Cities paid special attention, in the form of festivals and developed sanctuaries, to deities they believed were their specific town guardians. The great Olympians like Athena, Hera, Apollo and Zeus, i.e. gods who were believed to take an active rôle in politics, war and the arts, were the customary town patrons. Demeter was an important deity, but she was engaged in a different sphere and required less expansive sanctuaries. Third, as Homer Thompson suggests, Thesmophoria in particular were not aggrandised because the votaries were women⁹⁸. Men, the holders of wealth, saw no reason to spend large amounts of money on sanctuaries they did not patronize, and finally, fourth, numerous large structures may simply have not been required to celebrate many of Demeter's festivals.

Can the study of internal site topography be used as a guide to sanctuary identification or identification of specific festivals celebrated within a Demeter sanctuary? The answer to this question must also be 'no'; Internal topography *alone* does not provide sufficient unmistakable characteristics to identify a Demeter sanctuary. It is important to realize that the internal organization of these sanctuaries did not differ greatly from other comparable sized Greek sanctuaries and there is no single structure or feature that can be identified as belonging specifically to Demeter. The Thesmophorion is the most obvious case in point. This sanctuary type was frequently isolated, small and open-air, containing only an *eschara*, but this ground plan was not mandatory. Some Thesmophoria also contained a temple or an *oikos*. Furthermore, Demeter was by nature a chthonic deity and so the presence of an *eschara* could not guarantee that the Thesmophoria were actually celebrated within the sanctuary grounds. Pergamon and Eretria⁹⁹, like Mytilene, also had two types of altars, chthonic and Olympian, which is rare in Greek sanctuaries¹⁰⁰. Are these sanctuaries chthonic, Olympic or both? Which, if either, type of altar took precedence? More than one festival could also be

⁹⁷Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantel, 56.

⁹⁸ Thompson, H., 1936, 187.

⁹⁹See note 14.

celebrated at a single sanctuary. The Thesmophorion in the Piraeus was used for other women's festivals, including the *Plerosia*, *Kalamaia*, *Skira* and local festivals¹⁰¹, while the combined sanctuary of the Patrooi and Thesmophorion on Thasos provides evidence that the Thesmophoria, which excluded men, could be celebrated in the same sanctuary as a festival that was principally for men¹⁰².

The study of internal topography alone creates more questions than it answers. It is, in effect, only useful as a tool for identification when it is used in conjunction with the examination of external topography and artifacts. It has, however, revealed several popular misconceptions about Demeter sites. Demeter sanctuaries in general are usually perceived as small and open-air, what Scully calls "space positive" as versus the "mass positive" Olympian sanctuary typical of the other Greek deities¹⁰³. A glance at the Topographical Cross-Reference Table indicates that Demeter sanctuaries were not commonly hypaethral; there are a total of nine open-air sites, sixteen with an *oikos* and approximately forty sites with a temple. Demeter's sanctuaries are also not smaller than other average cult sites throughout Greece. The misinterpretation of sanctuary size may stem from comparing smaller, but well known Demeter sanctuaries like Priene and Knidos to large cult centres like the Athenian Acropolis or Olympia. Such a misconception would not have occurred if these large cult sites had been judged against comparable major Demeter cult sites, for example Eleusis, Acrocorinth or Pergamon.

It is clear that topographical examination on its own does not supply sufficient data to identify a Demeter sanctuary. There are, however, a few points to stress:

Location:

- sanctuaries could be located anywhere within a town or *polis*, but there was a greater tendency for them to be built on the periphery of a town and in isolated areas

¹⁰⁰Sanctuaries with both types of altars are often chthonic in nature, for example, the sanctuary of Chthonic Deities at Akragas and the sanctuary of the Greek Gods at Gravisca.

¹⁰¹Cole, 1994, 202. IG II² 1177. LSCG 36.

¹⁰²Rolley, 1965, 441- 483: Rolley suggests that the Thesmophoria was held on an undeveloped upper terrace, separate from the area where the Patrooi were worshipped. It is not known if the women's festival was removed from the rest of the sanctuary for cultic or for logistic reasons.

¹⁰³ Scully, 71.

- in many Demeter sanctuaries there seems to be no correlation between location and (presumed) differential gender participation in festivals. This is possibly due to these sanctuaries housing more than one festival.
- the topographical pattern is similar throughout the Greek world
- the foundation date of a sanctuary did not affect its location or the cult celebrated within
- sanctuaries commonly associated with a water source or other natural features
- many Thesmophoria may have been located so that they could look out upon the prime agricultural lands of the town or *polis*.

Internal Topography:

- there was a tendency to small and medium sized sanctuaries
- sanctuaries usually contained simple architecture: *temenos* wall, small temple or *oikos* and altar. Demeter sanctuaries could be hypaethral, but it was not the most common sanctuary type.
- chthonic structures and unique architecture were important, for example *bothroi*, *eschara*, *megara*, acanonical cult structures and multiple altars
- chthonic structures were common but not mandatory even in a Thesmophorion

Cult:

- Chthonic features may indicate that the Thesmophoria was held in the sanctuary because it was the most common of Demeter's festivals, but it was not necessarily the only festival held in the sanctuary
- the foundation of a Demeter sanctuary often corresponded to a time of agricultural stress or prosperity, a time when the blessings of Demeter Thesmophoros were especially important

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF MYTILENE

The Demeter sanctuary of Mytilene is an intraurban site, located on the height of the town's acropolis. The site has been identified by inscriptional means, and interpreted as a Thesmophorion on the basis of its altars and artifacts. A Thesmophorion, if it was intraurban, was frequently located in an isolated area of the town, but there were exceptions. Mytilene is one of these exceptions. The height of the acropolis was generally reserved for the divine patrons of a town, but it is not impossible for Thesmophoria to be situated there. Pausanias describes the sanctuary of Demeter on the Kadmeia in Thebes, a Thesmophorion which was also located on the height of the acropolis. He further mentions many sanctuaries, both Thesmophoria and others that

were located high on the slopes of an acropolis. Pausanias adds the interesting observation that these Demeter sanctuaries were believed to be old cults, founded very early in the history of the town: the sanctuary at Thebes (located on the height of the acropolis) was once the house of Kadmos and his descendants, the sanctuary of Demeter Chlōe in Athens (located on the side of the acropolis) was founded by Theseus after he united Attica, and the sanctuary in Megara (located on the Karian acropolis) was built by Kar, the town's founder and first king. Mytilene's acropolis-based cult also may have been venerable. Artifacts suggest that it was founded in the Archaic period at a time when the town population was growing and the town was flourishing. It is also possible that it was believed to be very old because the location was retained from an earlier period; perhaps situated on a cult site originally founded by the indigenous population of Lesbos¹⁰⁴.

Mytilene's Demeter sanctuary was of an average size and not highly developed, containing only an *oikos* or a small dining area and multiple altars. This sanctuary compares closely with sanctuaries at Knidos, Priene and Iasos, all of which were of similar size and development. The status of Demeter's sanctuary is not known, but despite its relatively small size and its lack of inscriptions, the location suggests that it was the main Demeter sanctuary for the town of Mytilene from the Classical period down to the Hellenistic period¹⁰⁵. It is interesting to compare Mytilene to Knidos. Sir Charles Newton, the excavator of Demeter's sanctuary at Knidos, believed that there the sanctuary was private, run by and for a single family. He based his conclusions on the size of the site which, in his opinion, was too small for the town, and on the absence of inscriptions which contained references to the town. Comparison with other sanctuaries in the eastern Aegean, including Mytilene, indicates that Newton was incorrect in his assumption that the sanctuary was too small. The lack of what Newton considered appropriate inscriptions also does not indicate that the sanctuary was private. No stone inscriptions were found at Mytilene nor at Priene and none were uncovered at the large and obviously important sanctuary on Acrocorinth.

¹⁰⁴This, however, seems a remote possibility because no archaeological evidence for pre-hellenic peoples has been brought to light on the acropolis.

¹⁰⁵Terracotta figurines, including a large example of enthroned Demeter with her name on the front of a low base, were found in a well during excavations in the Epano Skala area of Mytilene. These figurines suggest that there may have been a Demeter sanctuary in the vicinity. Nothing is known

Knidos, just as Mytilene, was the main Demeter sanctuary. Mytilene does not, however, compare closely with its two nearest neighbours, Troy and Pergamon. Troy, on the one hand, had a small sanctuary similar to those found at Abdera, simple, open-air and isolated, located very close to the exterior face of the town wall. Dorothy Thompson, however, speculates that Kybele was more important in Troy than Demeter. Pergamon, on the other hand, had a large and highly developed sanctuary, a monumental site suitable for the seat of a powerful dynasty. Mytilene's sanctuary was constructed to support the needs of the immediate town, a sanctuary sufficient to worship a deity important for an agriculturally-based economy.

about this second possible sanctuary and so its relationship to the acropolis sanctuary is unclear. It cannot be determined if these two sites co-existed, were successive or if they held different festivals.

Table One:

Intraurban Sanctuaries

<i>SITE</i>	<i>TOPOGRAPHY</i>	<i>CULT</i>
Acrocorinth	Isolated	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη
Alexandria	Intraurban, isolated	Δημήτηρ Έλευσίνια and Δημήτηρ Καρποφόρος
Anthedon	Town	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη
Astypalaea	Intraurban	Δημήτηρ
Athens: Demeter Chloe	Acropolis	Δημήτηρ Χλόη
Athens: Dipylon Gate	Intraurban	Δημήτηρ
Athens: Eleusinion	Agora	Δημήτηρ Έλευσίνια
Athens: Enneakrunus fountain	Agora	Δημήτηρ
Athens: Thesmophorion	Intraurban ?isolated	Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος
Cyrene	Agora	Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος
Eretria: (?) Demeter sanctuary	Intraurban	(?) Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος
Eretria: Thesmophorion (?)	Intraurban	(?) Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος
Halikarnassos	Intraurban isolated	Δημήτηρ
Hermione, New Town	Intraurban, monumental ?	Δημήτηρ Θερμασία and Δημήτηρ Χθονία
Iasos	Isolated	Δημήτηρ (?) Θεσμοφόρος
Knidos	Isolated	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη
Kranea	Acropolis	Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος
Megalopolis	Agora	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη
Megara 1	Acropolis	Δημήτηρ
Megara 2	Acropolis	Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος
Megara 3	Intraurban	Δημήτηρ
Mesembria	Intraurban	Δημήτηρ
Miletos	Isolated	Δημήτηρ (?) Θεσμοφόρος
Mytilene	Acropolis	Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος
Nymphaeum	Intraurban	Δημήτηρ
Pergamon	Intraurban, monumental	Δημήτηρ
Pharsala	Acropolis side	Δημήτηρ
Phlious	1) Acropolis top 2) Acropolis base	1) Δημήτηρ and Κόρη 2) Δημήτηρ
Priene	Isolated	Δημήτηρ (?) Θεσμοφόρος and Κόρη
Rhodes	Town	Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος
Skolos	Intraurban.	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη
Sparta ?	Town	Δημήτηρ Χθονία
Tanagra	Town	Δημήτηρ Άχαιή
Tegea	Town, on the side of the acropolis	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη Καρποφόροι

Thebes: Demeter Kadmeia	Acropolis	Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος
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Table Two:**Extraurban Sanctuaries**

<i>SITE</i>	<i>TOPOGRAPHY</i>	<i>CULT</i>
Abdera	Extraurban, adjacent to the fortification wall.	Δημήτηρ (?)Θεσμοφόρος
Aigila	Extraurban?	Δημήτηρ (?)Θεσμοφόρος
Aigion	Extraurban: located on a beach near the town.	Δημήτηρ Παναχαιά
Akragas (Rock Sanctuary)	Adjacent to the fortification wall.	Δημήτηρ, Κόρη and the Chthonic Deities
Arsinoeia	Adjacent to the fortification wall.	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη
Boura	Extraurban?	Δημήτηρ
Cyrene	Extraurban, across the wadi	Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος
Delos	Intraurban	Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος
Dion (Pierias)	Adjacent to the fortification wall.	Δημήτηρ
Eteonos	Extramural, adjacent to the fortification wall?	Δημήτηρ
Eutresis	Adjacent to the fortification wall.	Δημήτηρ (?)Θεσμοφόρος
Kallipolis	Adjacent to the fortification wall.	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη
Karnasian Grove	Near Andania, cypress grove, abundant spring water	Δημήτηρ Ἐλευσινία and Κόρη with mysteries
Keleai	Removed, located one km from Phlious.	Δημήτηρ Ἐλευσινία with mysteries
Knossos	Extraurban, located above and overlooking the Classical town.	Δημήτηρ
Kos Meropis	Adjacent to the fortification wall.	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη
Kyllene, Mount	Removed from the town (two miles), but associated with Pheneos.	Δημήτηρ Θεσμία
Lerna	Extraurban, removed?	Δημήτηρ Λερναία
Lykosura	Monumental	Δέσποινα, Δημήτηρ Χθονία and Κόρη

Chapter Three: A Topographical Study

Megalopolis: Marsh Gates	Adjacent to the fortification wall.	Δημήτηρ καλουμένης ἐν ἔλει
Mykalessos	Removed?	Δημήτηρ Μυκαλεσσία
Patrai (Patras)	Extraurban, located beside the sea and near sacred grove	Δημήτηρ, Κόρη and Γή
Pella	Adjacent to the fortification wall	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη
Pergamon (early)	Adjacent to the fortification wall.	Δημήτηρ (?)Θεσμοφόρος
Smyrna	Extraurban, exact location not known	Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος
Tanagra (early)	Extraurban	Δημήτηρ Ἀχαιίη
Thasos	Adjacent to the fortification wall on Cape Evraiocastro.	Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος
Thebes: Demeter Kabeiria	Extraurban	Δημήτηρ Καβειραίας and Κόρης
Tocra	Extraurban, but exact location of the sanctuary is not known.	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη
Troizen	Adjacent to the fortification wall.	Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος
Troy	Adjacent to the fortification wall.	Δημήτηρ

Table Three:**Remote Sanctuaries**

<i>SITE</i>	<i>TOPOGRAPHY</i>	<i>CULT</i>
Aegaleus, Mount	Remote ? A possible stop on the route from Athens to Eleusis	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη
Basilis	Remote ?	Δημήτηρ Έλευσινία
Buporthmus, Mount	Mountain projecting into the sea.	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη
Didyma	Remote ?	Δημήτηρ
Eileoi	Mountain pass on a road from Troizen to Hermione, but inside the borders of Hermione. Associated with nature (holes).	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη
Eileoi	Mountain pass near Eileoi, but closer to the sea, on the border of Hermione and Troizen.	Δημήτηρ Θερμασία
Hermione, Old Town	Abandoned town with a sanctuary of Demeter.	Δημήτηρ (?)Θεσμοφόρος
Lakiadia	A stop on the way from Athens to Eleusis. Exact site unknown.	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη
Kalyvia Sokhas	Remote - monumental	Δημήτηρ Έλευσινία
Karnasian Grove	Located near Andania in a grove with a good water supply.	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη, local versions of the Eleusinian mysteries were held in the grove.
Keleai	Five stades from Phlious.	Δημήτηρ - Local Mysteries to Demeter, supposedly an imitation of the Eleusinian cult
Myasion (Pellene)	Seven and one half miles from Pellene, sacred grove, abundant spring water.	Δημήτηρ Μυσίας and Δημήτηρ (?)Θεσμοφόρος
Mykale	On a promontory opposite Samos, in an isolated area.	Δημήτηρ Έλευσινία
Nestane	Remote	Δημήτηρ

Onkion ?	Remote, near the river Ladon	Δημήτηρ Ἐρινός
Parthenion, Mount	Off a road that lead from Argos to Tegea, and with a sacred oak grove.	Δημήτηρ ἐν Κορυθεύσι
Phigalia	Four miles from Phigalia on Mt. Elaion, the sanctuary was located in a cave.	Δημήτηρ Μελαινίς
Plataia	Remote, on the border of the <i>polis</i> .	Δημήτηρ Ἐλευσίνια and Κόρη
Pontinos, Mount	A hill in the SW corner of the plain of Argos, associated with a grove.	Δημήτηρ
Potniai	In the remains of the old town, and associated with a grove.	Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος
Pyraia	On the road between Sikyon and Phlious, set in a grove.	Δημήτηρ Προστασίας and Κόρη
Sikyon	Remote ?	Δημήτηρ
Thebes	Remote ?	Kabeirian Demeter
Thermopylae (Anthela)	Remote	Δημήτηρ Ἀμφικτυονίς
Trapezous (Bathos)	Remote	Δημήτηρ and Κόρη
Zoitia	Remote, located in an abandoned town	Δημήτηρ

Table Four:
Monumental Sanctuaries

<i>SITE</i>	<i>TOPOGRAPHY</i>	<i>CULT</i>
Athens Eleusinion	Intraurban agora	Δημήτηρ Ἐλευσινία
Eleusis	Extraurban	Δημήτηρ Ἐλευσινία
Kalyvia Sokhas (?)	Remote	Δημήτηρ Ἐλευσινία
Lykosura	Extraurban	Δέσποινα, Δημήτηρ Χθονία
Pergamon	Intraurban	Δημήτηρ (?)Θεσμοφόρος

Table Five:

Thesmophorion Sites

SITE	EVIDENCE	TOPOGRAPHY
Abdera	Athenaeus ii, 46e Archaeological	Extraurban
Aegina	Herodotus vi, 91	Extraurban
Aigila	Pausanias iv 17, 1	Extraurban
Alexandria	Callimachus, <u>Hymn to Demeter</u> Herodotus ii 60 and 172. Polybius xv 27, 2ff; xv 29, 8ff. Strabo xvii, 1ff.	Intraurban
Aphytis (?)	Archaeological	Unknown
Aptera (?)	Archaeological	Unknown
Arsinoeia (?)	Archaeological	Extraurban
Athens	Aristophanes <u>Thesmophoriazusae</u>	Intraurban
Bitalemi	Archaeological	Extraurban
Cyrene (Agora)	Archaeological	Intraurban
Cyrene (Wadi)	Archaeological	Extraurban
Delos	IG XI ² 287, 68-70 ID 290,85-92; 372a, 104-106; 440a, 36ff; 442a, 200ff; 444a, 28ff; 460t, 66.	Intraurban, near the merchant port
Dion	Archaeological	Extraurban
Drymaia	Pausanias x 33, 12	Intraurban
Eleusis	Archaeological. <u>Hymn to Demeter.</u>	Monumental
Ephesos	Herodotus vi, 16 IvE 10, 28; 213, 4-5; 1058; 1060, 2; 1067; 1070a; 1071; 1072; 2110, 1, 9; 1228; 1305, 5; 1595, 3-6; 1600, 63; 3252, 6, 13; 4337, 18.	Intraurban
Eretria	Archaeology	Intraurban
Erythrai	IvEK I 69, 4.	Unknown
Eutresis (?)	Archaeology	Extraurban
Grigori Korfi (?)	Archaeological	Unknown
Grotta/Naxos	Archaeology	Intraurban (?)
Halimous	Pausanias i 31, 1 Plutarch <u>Vit. Sol.</u> 8 Hesychius, s.v. Κωλίας	Extraurban
Iasos (?)	Archaeological	Intraurban
Koroneia	IG VII 2876.	Unknown
Megalopolis, agora	Pausanias viii 30ff.	Intraurban
Megalopolis, Marsh Gates	Pausanias viii 36, 6.	Extraurban
Megara	Pausanias I 42, 6.	Intraurban

Miletos	<u>IG</u> II 442 Archaeology	Intraurban
Mykonos	<u>SIG</u> ³ 1024, 11-15. <u>SIG</u> 373.	Unknown
Mytilene	Archaeological	Intraurban
Paros	Herodotus vi, 134. Pausanias x 28, 3.	Extraurban
Pergamon (?)	Archaeological	Intraurban by second century B.C.
Phaleron	<u>IG</u> II ² 573b; 1059; 1177	Extraurban
Pellene (?)	Pausanias vii 27, 9.	Remote
Pheneos	Pausanias viii 15, 1-4.	Unknown
Potniai	Pausanias ix 8, 1.	Extraurban / Remote
Priene	Archaeological	Intraurban
Rhodes	Archaeological	Intraurban
Smyrna	<u>IvS</u> II, i 665	Extraurban
Syracuse	Plut. <u>Dio</u> lvi, 3-4. Athenaeus xiv, 647a.	Intraurban
Thasos	Pausanias x 28, 1. Archaeological	Extraurban
Thebes, Kadmeia	Pausanias ix 16, 5.	Intraurban
Troizen	Pausanias ii 32, 8.	Extraurban
Troy	Archaeological	Extraurban
Xobourgo (?)	Archaeological	Extraurban

Table Six:

Sanctuaries by their Earliest Known Dates and their Topographical Relationship to a Town:

<i>DATE</i>	<i>TOPOGRAPHY</i>	<i>SITE NAME</i>
Proto-Geometric / Geometric (1110 - 700 B.C.)	Extraurban (later the sanctuary is Monumental)	Eleusis. Artifacts indicate that the area was in use as a sanctuary from the PG period. The site, however, was <i>possibly</i> already dedicated to Demeter in the Bronze Age.
Geometric (?)	Intraurban (Located on the side of the Acropolis)	Athens (Demeter Chlōe)
Geometric	Extraurban (Located on Gypsadhes Hill)	Knossos
Archaic	Extraurban (Located near the town fortifications)	Abdera
Archaic	Intraurban (Situated beside the <i>Agora</i>)	Athens (Eleusinion)
Archaic	Intraurban (Located on the side of the acropolis)	Corinth (Acrocorinth)
Archaic	Intraurban (Agora)	Cyrene (Agora sanctuary)
Archaic	Extraurban (Located across a wadi)	Cyrene
Archaic	Extraurban	Dion
Archaic	Intraurban (Located on an isolated hill slope)	Eretria (Thesmophorion I)
Archaic	Extraurban (Located adjacent to the fortification wall)	Eutresis
Archaic	Extraurban	Gela (Thesmophorion)
Archaic	Intraurban (Located on a peninsula)	Iasos
Archaic	Extraurban	Kos Meropis
Archaic	Intraurban (Located on the acropolis)	Kranea
Archaic	Intraurban (Located on the acropolis)	Mytilene
Archaic	Intraurban (Lower town)	Nymphaeum

Chapter Three: A Topographical Study

Archaic	Intraurban (Upper town area)	Olbia
Archaic	Remote	Plataia
Archaic	Extraurban	Selinus
Archaic	Extraurban	Tegea
Archaic	Extraurban (Located near the fortifications)	Thasos
Archaic	Intraurban (Located on the acropolis)	Thebes
Archaic	Extraurban	Tocra
Archaic	Extraurban (Isolated location near the fortifications)	Troy
Classical	Intraurban (Adjacent to the fortifications)	Akragas (Temple of Demeter)
Classical	Extraurban	Dion
Classical	Remote	Kalyvia Sokhas
Classical	Intraurban (On an isolated peninsula)	Miletos
Classical	Extraurban (became an Intraurban sanctuary in the second century)	Pergamon
Classical	Remote	Potniai
Classical	Remote (Near a strategic pass)	Thermopylae / Anthela
Classical	Intraurban (Near the theatre)	Thorikos
Fourth century	Intraurban (Near the Mausoleum)	Halikarnassos
Fourth century	Remote (?)	Kyparissi
Fourth century	Intraurban (Against the inner face of the fortification wall)	Mesembria
Fourth century	Intraurban (On the slope of the acropolis)	Priene
Fourth century	Intraurban (harbour side)	Rhodes
Hellenistic (Third century)	Extraurban	Kallipolis
Hellenistic (Second century)	Extraurban	Arsinoeia
Hellenistic	Intraurban (On the slope of the acropolis)	Eretria (Thesmophorion II)

Hellenistic (Second century)	Extraurban	Pella
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Table Seven: Topographical Cross Reference

	Temenos Wall	Propylon	Altars	Bothroi	Temple	Sacred House	Oikos	Stoa	Theatral	Dining Hall	Megaron	Treasury	Food Storage	Votive Cache	Temporary	Hypaethral	Cave	Sacred Grove	Water	Bedrock	Artifacts Only	Extramurban	Intramurban	Remote	Monumental	Sanctuary Complex
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Abdera	●		●													●						●				
Acrocorinth	●	R	●	●	R		●		●	●					?				●				●			
Aegaleus, Mount	?		●		●																			●		
Aegina	●																					●				
Aigila																						●				
Aigion	?																		●			●				
Akragas: Temple of Demeter	●		●	●	●																		●			
Akragas: Rock Sanctuary	●		?				●										●		?	●		●				
Akragas: Chthonic Deities	●		●	●	●		●													●			●			
Alesion, Mount																			●					●		
Alexandria			●		●																		●			
Amyklai																										
Anthedon	?																		?				●			
Aphytis	?		?																							
Aptera					R																					
Argos	●																							?		
Arsinoeia	?				?																	●				
Athens: Demeter Chloe	?															?							●			
Athens: Dipylon Gate	●				?																		●			
Athens: Eleusinion	●	●	●		●			R															●		●	
Athens: Enneakrounos																			●				●			
Athens: Thesmophorion																							●			
Axos	?		?																				?	?		
Bitalemi	●				?		●	?															●			
Boura																										
Buporthmus, Mount																								●		
Chaironeia																										

Table Seven: Topographical Cross Reference

	Temenos Wall	Propylon	Altars	Bothroi	Temple	Sacred House	Oikos	Stoa	Theatral	Dining Hall	Megaron	Treasury	Food Storage	Votive Cache	Temporary	Hypaethral	Cave	Sacred Grove	Water	Bedrock	Artifacts Only	Extramural	Intramural	Remote	Monumental	Sanctuary Complex
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Cyrene: Agora	●		●	●												●				●			●			
Cyrene: Extramural	●		●	●		●													●	●		●				
Delos	●					?																				
Didyma	?																									
Dimitra					●																	?				
Dion (Pierias)	●		●	●	●																	●				
Drymaia	?																									
Eileoi: The Holes																	?							●		
Eileoi: Demeter Thermasia																								●		
Eleusis	●	●	●	?	●								●				●		●	●		●			●	
Elis			●																							
Eretria	●		●				●												●							
Eteonos																							●			
Eutresis	?																						●			
Gela																										
Grigori Korfi	?						●																			
Grotta (Naxos)																						●				
Gythion																										
Halikarnassos	●				?									●										●		
Halimous																?							●			
Hermione, New City: Demeter on the Headland	●				●																			●		
Hermione, Old City	●																							●		
Iasos	●		●		●			●																●		
Isthmia: Sacred Glen																		●				●				●
Isthmia: Rachi				●																		●				●
Kainepolis																						R				
Kallipolis	●						●																●			
Kalyvia Sokhas	?		?						●										●	●				●	?	
Karnasian Grove	?											●						●	●							
Keleai																							●			

Table Seven: Topographical Cross Reference

	Temenos Wall	Propylon	Altars	Bothroi	Temple	Sacred House	Oikos	Stoa	Theatral	Dining Hall	Megaron	Treasury	Food Storage	Votive Cache	Temporary	Hypaethral	Cave	Sacred Grove	Water	Bedrock	Artifacts Only	Extraurban	Intraurban	Remote	Monumental	Sanctuary Complex
Kleitor																							?			
Knidos	●		?		R									●									●			
Knossos	●				●																	●				
Kopai																										
Koroneia	●				?																					
Kos Meropis	?		?	?	●		●												●							
Kranea	?		●		●														●				●			
Kyllene, Mount	?				?																	●				
Kyparissi (Kos)	●		●				●																			
Lakiadia (Hiera Syke)							●																			
Lebadeia																●										
Lepreon					●																		●			
Lerna	●															?										
Lykosura	●	●	●		●			●	●		●							●	●					●	●	
Mantineia	?				●										●											
Megalopolis: Agora	●				●													●	●							
Megalopolis: Marsh Gates	●				●													●				●				
Megara: Demeter's Hall										●													●			
Megara: Thesmophorion																							●			
Megara: Calling Rock																							●			
Mesembria	?						●																●			
Mesopotamos, city of Ephyra																					●					
Messene																										
Miletos	●		●	●	●							●	?							●			●			
Myasion (Pellene)	?																	●	●					●		
Mykale	?				●																			●		
Mykalessos	?				?																	●				
Mykonos																										
Mysia	●																									

Table Seven: Topographical Cross Reference

	Temp nos Wall	Propylon	Altars	Bothroi	Temple	Sacred House	Olkos	Stoa	Theatral	Dining Hall	Megaron	Treasury	Food Storage	Votive Cache	Temporary	Hypaethral	Cave	Sacred Grove	Water	Bedrock	Artifacts Only	Extraurban	Intraurban	Remote	Monumental	Sanctuary Complex
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Mytilene	●		●	●			●													●				●		
Nestane					?																			?		
Nisaia					●																		●			
Nymphaeum	●		●		?																		●			
Olbia: Upper City																							?			
Olbia: Cape of Hippole																					●					
Olympia			●		?																					●
Onkion	?				●																					
Pagasai-Demetrias					●																					
Pallantion	?				●																					
Paros	●				●																		●			
Parthenion, Mount								?										●						●		
Patrai	?				●													●	●							
Pella	?		●	●			●									●						●				
Pergamon	●	●	●		●			●	●										●	●				●		●
Phaidrias																								●		
Phaleron	●				?																		●			
Pharsala																					●					
Pheneos	●																									
Phigalia																●								●		
Phlious	●																						●			
Plataia	?				●																			●		
Pontinos, Mount																		●						●		
Potniai	?			?			●				●							●	●					●		
Priene	●	●	●	●			●												●					●		
Proerni								?																?		
Prospalta																										
Pyraia	●						●											●						●		
Rhodes																					●		●			
Selinus	●	●	●		●				●		●								●				●			
Sikyon	?																						●			
Skolos																							●			
Smyrna																						●				

Table Seven: Topographical Cross Reference

	T e m p l e s W a l l	P r o p y l o n	A l t a r s	B o t h r o i	T e m p l e	S a c r e d H o u s e	O i k o s	S t o a	T h e a t r a i	D i n i n g H a l l	M e g a r o n	T r e a s u r y	F o o d S t o r a g e	V o t i v e C a c h e	T e m p o r a r y	H y p a e t h r a l	C a v e	S a c r e d G r o v e	W a t e r	B e d r o c k	A r t i f a c t s O n l y	E x t r a u r b a n	I n t r a u r b a n	R e m o t e	M o n u m e n t a l	S a n c t u a r y C o m p l e x
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Souvala	●	●			?																							
Sparta																												
Stiris	●				●																							
Tanagra	?				?																			●				
Tegea	?			●	?																		●					
Thaliades	?				●														●									
Thasos: Thesmophorion	●							●															●					
Thebes: Demeter on the Kadmeia					?																	●		●				
Thebes: Kabeirian Demeter	●																	●										
Thermopylae								●																				
Thespaia	●					R																						
Thisbe																												
Thorikos					●																							
Tocra																						●	●					
Trapezous (Bathos)																						●				●		
Troizen	?																						●					
Troy	●		●						R							●			●									
Xobourgo	●		●				●						?		?									●				
Zoitia	?																								●			

CHAPTER FOUR

ARTIFACT ANALYSIS OF DEMETER SANCTUARIES

Dedications were offered and left within every Greek sanctuary. Votaries gave dedications for myriad reasons — as thank offerings, in fulfillment of a vow or prayer, as part of cultic ritual, as an expression of the donor's piety, in celebration of victory in war, in observance of a religious office or to appease a god's anger. Votive gifts were given by private individuals, by families, by *demes*, by whole cities and even by non-Greeks. Offerings included a wide range of objects, the nature and size of which depended upon the status of the votary, the reason for the offering and the identity of the recipient deity. People gave what they could afford. Cities and wealthy patrons could donate cult buildings, fountains or stoas, war spoils, statues and other art works. Private individuals, both men and women, usually gave small offerings which were connected in some way with their lives. The most common small offerings included terracotta figurines, miniature vessels, household goods, foodstuffs, tools, weapons, jewellery, and many other small, personal items. Unfortunately for archaeological identification, votive offerings were generally not 'deity specific'; the same categories of objects could be offered to many deities. Weapons and tools were thought to be appropriate offerings for both male and female deities including Athena, Artemis, Demeter and Zeus while other simple objects like female terracotta figurines, household goods and personal objects are found in virtually all sanctuaries throughout Greece.

This chapter examines votive offerings found in Demeter sanctuaries in an attempt to establish an artifact assemblage. Artifact analysis is particularly important in the archaeological study of Demeter sanctuaries because of the scarcity of inscriptional evidence, even at the largest sites; many sanctuaries thought to be sacred to Demeter have been identified solely on the basis of artifacts¹. A pattern of artifact types, an

¹These sanctuaries include: Abdera, Acrocorinth, Akragas (Temple of Demeter and the Rock Sanctuary), Aphytis, Aptaera, Bathos/Bathyrevma, Cyrene (Agora sanctuary), Dimitra, Eutresis,

artifact assemblage, may be discernible at *some* sanctuaries. These assemblages could, in turn, be used to identify other sanctuaries, and may even aid in the identification of specific festivals celebrated within those sanctuaries.

Pottery and votive offerings from numerous Demeter sanctuaries are discussed in the following pages of this chapter. Pottery is examined on a site by site basis because of the large number of individual vessel forms, while small finds are discussed by types. This chapter does not attempt to present a comprehensive catalogue of dedicatory artifacts or artifact numbers. Details of artifacts, their dates, types, and numbers have been taken from the relevant publications and catalogues.

Part One:

Pottery and Miniature Vessels

Knossos

The Demeter sanctuary on Gypsadhes Hill contained numerous sealed and stratified pottery deposits, ranging in date from the Geometric to the Hellenistic periods². Deposit A contained the oldest pottery in the sanctuary dating to the late eighth / early seventh century B.C. There were no obviously cultic vessels included within this deposit, although several terracotta figurines indicate that the sanctuary was in use and a deity was receiving votive offerings. The main importance of this deposit is that it already displayed the primary characteristic that continued throughout the ceramic history of the sanctuary; the deposit resembled a domestic accumulation, only the presence of the votive figurines revealed that it was not. Deposit A contained locally produced dining wares (plates and drinking vessels) and both local and imported storage vessels (krateres, pithoi and amphorae)³.

Deposits B and C⁴, dating from the late fifth century / early fourth century B.C., contained miniature vases (shallow skyphoi and krateriskoi) and single and multiple-

Grigori Korfi, Heloros/Eloro, Iasos, Isthmia (Rachi sanctuary), Knossos, Mount Parthenion, Mytilene, Neandria, Nymphaeum, Pella, Rhamnous, Thasos (Thesmophorion), Thebes and Troy.

² The excavators divided the deposits into groups, each designated by a letter. See: Coldstream, 1973, for details.

³ Coldstream, 1973, 18 ff: Imported pottery in Deposit A consisted of an East Greek oinochoe or lekythos and an Attic Middle Geometric II amphora and krater.

⁴ Coldstream, 1973, 22 ff.

nozzle lamps the first indisputable votive pottery from the sanctuary. The characteristic food vessels and dining wares, however, still formed the bulk of the deposit. Dining wares from the two deposits included: plates, bowls and gloss cups all of local production, and stemless cups, skyphoi, lekythoi, bowls and stemmed dishes imported from Attica. Storage and serving vessels included: bell-krateres and oinochoai of Attic production, as well as local hydriai, pelikai and krateres. Coldstream notes that the local shapes were common in domestic contexts and wells in the Classical town of Knossos⁵.

Deposits D to G date to the Hellenistic period⁶. The characteristic cooking and feasting wares appear in all of these deposits and the list of pottery types is virtually identical to that of the earlier material. Dining wares include: Attic black gloss cups, bowls and oinochoai. There were also large quantities of locally produced gloss bowls, imitation West Slope cups, kantharoi and kalathoi. Plates, however, are absent from all four Hellenistic deposits, and were not a common vessel form, always less popular than bowls of various types, even in the earlier deposits⁷. Storage and serving vessels included: jugs, krateres, trays, oinochoai, amphorae and bowls, mostly of local production. Here, as with Deposits B and C, domestic wares from the Royal Road area provide supplementary information for incomplete vessel forms.

Deposit J is Roman, dating from the late first century B.C. to the mid second century A.D. It was the final deposit in the sanctuary⁸. Again, even in this deposit, the same trend of dining and food service vessels was continued. The major difference between the Roman and Greek deposits is a change in the popular votive type; the Greeks offered miniature pottery, while the Romans offered lamps. This change of votive type

⁵Ibid, 22.

⁶Deposit Dates:

Deposit D: late fourth to mid third century.

Deposit E: mid to late third century.

Deposit F: late third to early second century.

Deposit G: mid to late third century.

⁷Plates seem not to be a common pottery type on Crete as a whole.

⁸Coldstream has two other pottery "groups" from the sanctuary called Deposits H and K but these were not sealed deposits, instead they were mixed dumps of material. Deposit H was a very large group of pottery and votives dating from the fifth century B.C. to the second century A.D. Deposit K dates from the Geometric to Medieval period and consists of miscellaneous vessels from non-stratified contexts. Both of these groups contained all the dining and food service pottery shapes found in deposits A to G, including skyphoi, kantharoi, bowls, a sprinkling of fish- and flat plates, hydriai, oinochoai, and lekythoi.

also occurred at other Demeter sanctuaries in the early Roman period, notably Abdera and Mytilene.

— Votive miniature vessels made their first appearance in the sanctuary at Knossos in the late fifth century B.C. in Deposit B, and then each subsequent deposit contains a considerable quantity of such vessels. The most common miniature form, found in all deposits, is the krateriskos⁹. Miniature one-handled cups and shallow skyphoi also appear in Deposit B along with the krateriskoi, but they are soon over-shadowed by locally produced miniature hydriai that first appeared in the late fourth century (Deposit D). The miniature hydriai become the second most common votive miniature. Lamps also appear in the late fifth century. The number of lamps in each deposit is not large, but they are always present, and always exhibit burning. The long time span covered by the deposits allows the pottery to be traced from the Geometric right through to the Roman period. It is important to note the essentially unchanging range of vessels present throughout the whole history of the sanctuary. The deposits could almost be mistaken for domestic contexts, except for the presence of votives. The fact that the pottery was deposited within the sanctuary grounds and that it was accompanied by cultic material indicates that it was significant in the festivals held within the sanctuary. Eating and drinking, i.e. feasting, clearly played an important role in this sanctuary¹⁰.

The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter at Cyrene

It is difficult to compare the pottery from Cyrene to that of other Demeter sanctuaries because only a portion has been published to date - the imported eastern Greek and island pottery from the sixth century B.C.¹¹. Despite this, it is interesting to note that the pattern of domestic and cultic vessels is still discernible. The most common shapes found in the sanctuary are those that were used in food preparation and feasting, including krateres, amphorae, oinochoai, beakers, fruitstands, cups, skyphoi, chalices, dishes, plates and bowls. A large number of votive vessels were also found including:

⁹The krateriskos is a miniature version of the krater, a vessel used for mixing wine and water. There were four types of krater, the volute krater, the column krater, the bell krater and the calyx krater. The miniatures were mostly bell krateres.

¹⁰It is not known if the vessels were used once before they were deposited in the sanctuary or were in use for some time before final deposition.

¹¹Schaus, 1985. Libya 2.

krateriskoi, pyxides, aryballoi, offering plates, miniature bowls, alabastra, perfume pots and phialai mesomphaloi. One important type of vessel that is generally missing from the published material is the miniature hydria, but its absence is due to the fact that only the imported wares have been published and this vessel type was usually made locally. Indeed, a large number of coarse, locally produced (and possibly Corinthian) miniature hydriai were found within the sanctuary and are awaiting publication¹².

Neandria

To date, Demeter at Neandria is represented by a single, large *ex-voto* deposit dating from the sixth through to the fourth century B.C.¹³ Demeter is identified as the deity who received these offerings on the basis of the composition of the deposit. It consists of cult-related vessels (ring kernoi and unguentaria) and feasting wares (bowls, plates, olpai and skyphoi) but most importantly for identification purposes, locally produced miniature hydriai account for three-quarters of the total deposit. The deposit also contained a small number of terracotta figurines of *hydrophoroi* and a single pig. Burned bones found along with the pottery have not yet been identified.

Tocra

Ex-voto pottery deposits were discovered slightly inland from the coast. These deposits have been identified as belonging to a sanctuary of Demeter by the presence of vessels with graffiti that mention 'the Goddesses' and the names 'Demeter' and 'Kore'¹⁴. Numerous votives (miniature vessels and terracottas) were also found¹⁵. Excavation in the area exposed some early architectural remains, but nothing obviously from the sanctuary itself. It is possible that the sanctuary grounds lay further inland and were later destroyed by Roman building activity.

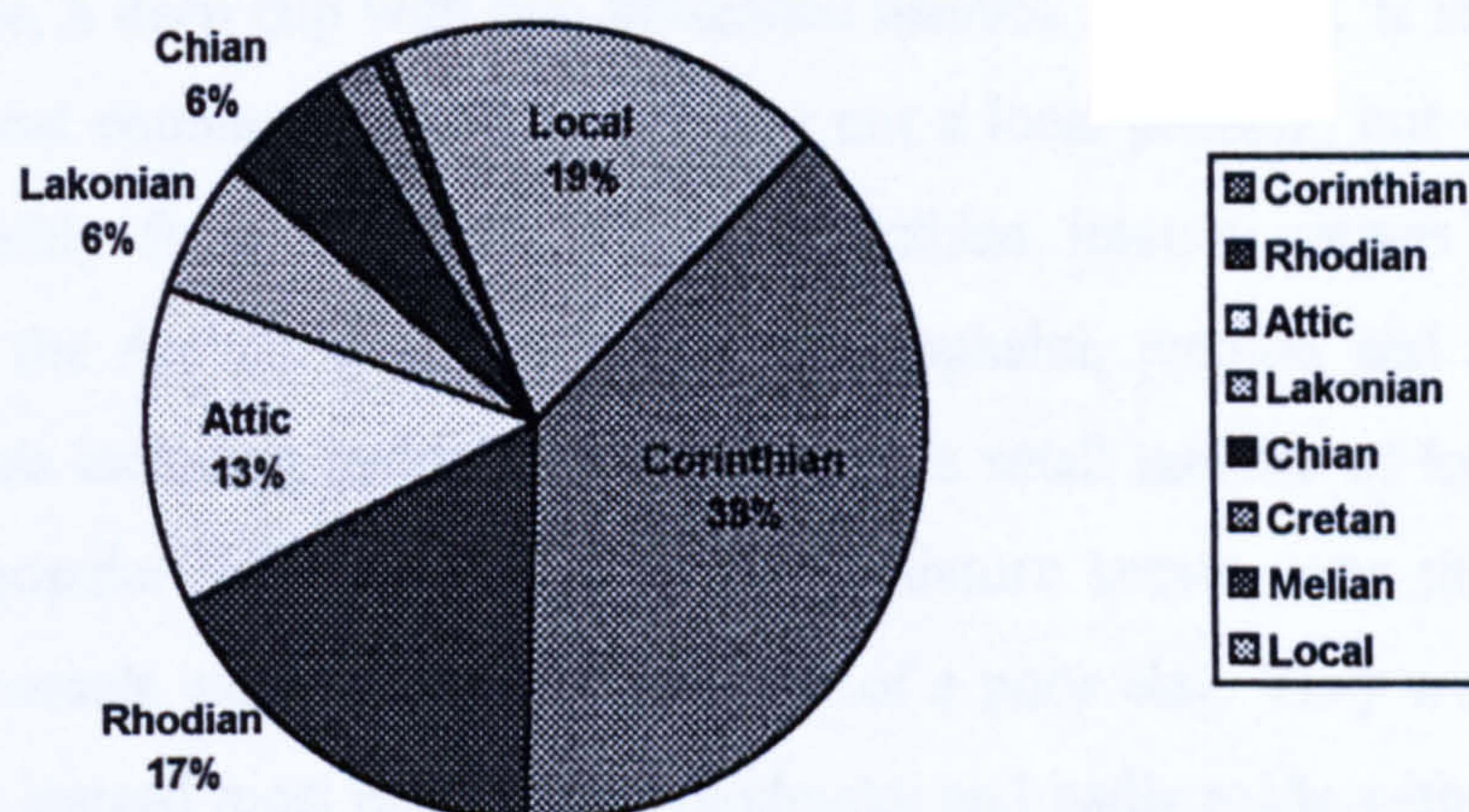
¹²Schaus, 1985, 95 and personal communication, January 14, 1997. Several examples of terracotta *hydrophoroi* figurines were also recovered during excavation.

¹³This deposit was unearthed from against the inner face of the circuit wall, in the eastern end of the town.

¹⁴Boardman and Hayes, 1966, 15.

¹⁵*Ibid*, 15.

The majority of the pottery was found in three large *ex-voto* deposits that date from the Archaic period, between 620 B.C. and 510 B.C.¹⁶ A very marked characteristic of the pottery from all three deposits is that the majority of it was imported. Corinthian was the most common import, accounting for 38% of all the pottery found, followed by “Rhodian” at 17%, Attic at 13%, Lakonian and Chian accounting for 5.5% each, Cretan at 1.75% and “Melian” at 0.75%. There were also local wares, but they accounted for only 18.5% of the total¹⁷. There was a local pottery industry, founded in c 600 B.C., but it produced mostly votives and cooking wares. Other domestic wares, including dining and storage vessels, were all imported.



The three Archaic deposits contained large quantities of domestic vessel forms which can be divided into three groups, kitchen wares (food storage and cooking), food service vessels and dining wares. Kitchen wares included: large amphorae, hydriai, jugs, krateres and coarse, cooking ware. Food service vessels included: table amphorae, narrow-necked jugs, oinochoai, lekythoi, olpai and hydriai. Dining wares included: cups (band cups, eye cups, flat-based cups, lip cups and Komast cups) mugs, Chian chalices, kantharoi, kalathoi, skyphoi, numerous bowls, banded dishes and fruit stands.

¹⁶Boardman and Hayes, 1977, 3., Revised deposit dates:
Deposit I (levels nine to eleven) c 620 to 590.
Deposit II (level eight) c 590 to 565.
Deposit III (level seven) c 565 to 520/510.

¹⁷Boardman and Hayes, 1977, 4.

Pottery and votive offerings from the fifth to the third centuries B.C. were found in a shallow and irregular level overlying the Archaic deposits. The quantity of pottery dropped dramatically in this later period, but the types are basically the same as those found in the Archaic deposits, again all related to food preparation and consumption. Pottery types included: cups, skyphoi, kantharoi, kotylai, salt cellars, bowls, krateres and pelikai.

A large quantity of votive vessels were found in the Archaic pottery deposits. They were differentiated from the general pottery by their miniature size, too small to have been utilized as anything but offerings to the deity. The most popular type was the miniature kotyle, a deep cup with two horizontal handles at the rim. It is interesting that Tocra's most common Archaic votive was not a local product, but was instead imported, possibly from Corinth¹⁸. Other Corinthian import votives were also represented in the Archaic deposits: phialai mesomphaloi, pyxides and black gloss miniature vessels including hydriai, krateriskoi and a small number of kalathoi. The second most popular votive vessel, after the miniature kotyle, was the miniature hydria. These vessels were produced locally out of a poor clay. They were not high quality vessels; instead most examples were chunky and badly made with no attempt to smooth visible surfaces. Local clay was also used to produce a small number of other miniature votive vessels, including aryballoi, two-handled jugs, mugs and bowls. Lamps also formed part of the votive deposits. All the lamps had been utilized, indicating that at least some of the festivals held at the sanctuary were nocturnal or had a nocturnal element to them.

Votive vessels were also found amongst the pottery in the thin Classical level. The pattern of votive offerings changed slightly from the Archaic period, with the locally manufactured pottery, especially the miniature hydriai, becoming the most popular offerings. Other locally-produced votive vessels include: miniature bowls, bell-krateres and a single example of a miniature epichysis. Imported Corinthian material was drastically reduced, represented only by a few examples of black gloss miniature hydriai.

¹⁸Boardman and Hayes, 1966, 26.

The large size of the deposits suggests that the cult may have been popular in the Archaic period with a possible decline in Classical times¹⁹. Domestic wares constitute the bulk of the vessel types, with a large admixture of miniature votives and lamps. The votive material attests that these specific domestic wares were used in the sanctuary, while the domestic wares themselves indicate that the preparation (cooking), storage (short or longer term) of liquids and foodstuffs, service of the food and finally feasting were all undertaken in the sanctuary. The only major difference between pottery assemblages from Tocra and from other Demeter sanctuaries is the wide range of imported pottery. It is important to note, however, that the pottery *types* that were imported do not differ greatly from vessel types found in the other Demeter sanctuaries.

Acrocorinth

Pottery deposition in the area of this Demeter sanctuary began in the Geometric period, but the wares were all domestic in nature with no votive admixture. The earliest identifiable votive pottery, which indicates that the sanctuary was in operation, dates from the seventh century B.C. The sanctuary was then used continuously until 146 B.C. when Corinth was sacked by Mummius.

Large quantities of pottery were found within the sanctuary of Demeter²⁰. This pottery can be arranged in the two basic categories of dining wares and miniature votive vessels. The majority of the dining wares were found in the lower terrace in association with the dining halls. Almost all the material was locally produced with only a small number of imports from Athens. Shapes included the common domestic

¹⁹Based on types of vessels found in the Classical deposit, the cult from that period did not seem to differ from the Archaic period, but the amount of pottery dropped drastically. It is possible that the sanctuary site was moved possibly due to erosion from the sea, or growth of the town. It is also possible that the cult just became less popular.

²⁰Corinth Demeter sanctuary deposit dates (See: Pemberton, E., 1989, part 1, 79-108 for a full description of each pottery group):

Group One: mid seventh century B.C. *Group Two*: mid sixth century B.C. *Group Three*: early fifth century B.C. *Group Four*: early fifth century B.C. *Group Five*: late sixth century to last quarter of fifth century B.C. *Group Six*: later fourth century B.C. *Group Seven*: fourth century B.C. with an admixture of third century B.C. material. *Group Eight*: third quarter of third century B.C. *Group Nine*: late fourth to late third century B.C. *Group Ten*: Hellenistic period up to Mummian destruction. *Group Eleven*: floor fill with a long range of pottery dates with use up to 146 B.C. Groups four, five and seven were votive pits, Groups one, three, eight and nine were *ex-voto* deposits, but not from closed contexts and Groups two, six, ten and eleven were imported building fills.

vessels that were used for food preparation, service and eating, including: coarse cooking wares, amphorae, hydriai, oinochoai, lekythoi, skyphoi, kotylai, one-handled cups, bowls of various types, plates and saucers. These vessel types were not limited to the Demeter sanctuary but have also been found in all domestic contexts of Corinth. Votive pottery consisted of locally produced miniature vessels. These offerings were almost exclusively found in the Middle and Upper terraces of the sanctuary with only a small minority from the area of the dining halls on the Lower terrace. The most common votive miniature was the kalathiskos, a small, concave, flaring cup that came with or without two minute horizontal handles; over 2,000 individual examples were found in the first year of excavation alone. The second most popular votive vessel was the phiale mesomphalos while the third was the miniature hydria. Numerous other small vessels and miniature forms were also represented in the deposits including: aryballoi, pyxides, unguentaria, column-krateriskoi, oinochoai, jugs, kotylai, an offering tray, miniature lamps, bowls and dishes.

Feasting was clearly an important event in this sanctuary. Not only do the numerous dining-wares attest this importance, but also the extensive dining halls which stretched to over 50m on either side of the monumental stairway. The separation of the dining area and the upper cultic area, however, also suggests that the upper area was the centre of the sanctuary and that although dining was of major importance, it was not the central feature of all festivals.

Eretria, the Archaic and Classical Thesmophorion

The late Archaic and Classical Demeter sanctuary of Eretria is located on the south slope of the acropolis²¹. It consists of a *temenos* wall, a single-roomed cult structure and an altar. Pottery and votive material was collected from two sources within the sanctuary: from a large *ex-voto* deposit placed in a natural rock crevice to the north of the altar and from the sanctuary area in general.

²¹Auberson and Schefold, 105. A Hellenistic Demeter sanctuary is located approximately 80m to the west of the Archaic/Classical site. This sanctuary contained numerous terracotta figurines and pottery which date from the third to the second centuries B.C.

Pottery from *ex-voto* deposits dates mainly to the fifth century B.C.²² Skyphoi and shallow drinking vessels were the most predominant vessel forms, comprising approximately 71% of the total. Lekanai, both deep and shallow, comprised 16% of the total, while kitchen wares, serving jugs (oinochoai and olpai), single-handled bowls, miniature vessels and spindle whorls accounted for the rest. This pottery can also be subdivided into kitchen wares and dining wares, including: fishplates, bowls, lekanai, skyphoi and kantharoi²³. The cultic identity of the deposits is established not only by the fact that they were found within the *temenos*, but also by the admixture of miniature votive vessels.

The votive vessels from Eretria are miniature examples of the full size shapes found in the sanctuary. All the usual vessels are represented including: miniature skyphoi, bowls, lekanides, kalathoi, krateriskoi, and phialai. Miniature hydriai, however, the most popular miniature vessels at many Demeter sanctuaries, are not present at Eretria. Full size hydriai are also almost absent from the sanctuary. The absence of hydriai is also evident in the terracotta figurines where Metzger only publishes five examples of *hydrophoroi*, a type of figurine which was which was very popular in the majority of Demeter sanctuaries (see below, this chapter). This shape may be lacking from the sanctuary due to cultic reasons, local preference for other vessel forms or it is possible, as Muller suggests, that this sanctuary is mis-identified²⁴. The identity of this sanctuary is discussed further at the end of this chapter.

Mytilene

The finds from the sanctuary of Mytilene are summarized here for ease of comparison to the other sanctuaries. Mytilene's Demeter sanctuary was a very mixed site with no sealed deposits and few complete vessels. Despite these stratigraphic disturbances, the pottery has a narrow range of dates, ranging from the late fourth or early third century with an admixture of earlier fifth century B.C. and later second century B.C. materials.

²²There is an admixture of pottery and figurines from the fourth century B.C.

²³Metzger, 17. Metzger states that most of the pottery from the sanctuary was not published because the forms have been published elsewhere in the volumes that contain domestic wares from houses within the town of Eretria.

²⁴Muller, 1989, 168-169.

The pottery can be divided into domestic wares and votive materials. Domestic wares, as in other the Demeter sanctuaries, include vessels for preparation and service of food as well as dining. A soft red plain ware, probably produced locally, was used for the storage and service of food. Vessel forms included small jugs, large jugs, basins (ledge-lipped and flat-based), table amphorae, bowls and large amphorae. Dining wares were imported, mostly Aegean brown-black gloss wares, with a sprinkling of Attic vessels. They included: fishplates, flat plates, Attic-type skyphoi, bowls, table jugs, askoi, salt cellars, echinus bowls, kantharoi and lekythoi. The fishplate was the most popular domestic pottery shape found in the sanctuary. This plate type must have been important in the sanctuary because several preserve evidence of 'ritual killing' where the central well was purposely shattered before they were deposited, presumably to ensure that they could not be used again.

The Classical vessels were very fragmentary, but important because the majority of these vessels were imported Attic black gloss domestic wares, including plates, bowls and drinking vessels. These sherds, along with seventeen fragmentary terracottas, suggest the sanctuary was in use at this date and that festivals which included feasting were already being celebrated.

Of the very limited range of miniature vessels found in the Demeter sanctuary in Mytilene, the most popular was the miniature hydria. These vessels were locally produced and ranged from very fine specimens with detailed bases and painted or applied decoration to larger, very chunky plain vessels. The hydriai were made from the local soft pink clay, with a very few examples made from grayware. Spatial analysis of these vessels resulted in only vague patterns; the miniature hydriai were found all across the site, but larger concentrations of both fragmentary and whole examples were evident on the eastern side of the sanctuary, following the line of the altars. The second most popular votive vessel was a shallow stemmed offering dish. Spatial analysis of this vessel type resulted in the same patterns as the hydriai with the slight concentration of examples in the altar area including three complete examples found *in situ* in the *bothros* north of the hearth altar. All offering vessels were made locally out of the pink clay and none of these vessels were decorated.

The large *ex-voto* deposit which was excavated approximately 50m to the south-west of the sanctuary contained vessels and terracottas analogous to those discovered

within the immediate sanctuary grounds. The majority of the vessels were lamps, with over three hundred complete examples similar to Howland 25 B Prime and D Prime²⁵. Miniature lamps also formed a large component of the deposit. Slight burning on all the lamps, including the miniature versions, indicates that they had all been used at least once before being given to the deity. A large number of offering vessels, including all the types found in the sanctuary area (miniature hydriai, offering vessels and miniature kantharoi) were included in the deposit, but after the lamps, miniature kantharoi constituted the second most common artifact type²⁶. There were two types of kantharoi, plain and an imitation West Slope style. The West Slope vessels were decorated in a black, sometimes mottled brown, matt gloss with a poorly painted white wreath of leaves around the mouth. These plain and decorated vessels were similar in shape, but fabric differences suggest that they came from two different workshops; the plain vessels were made from the local pink clay, while the fabric of the West Slope style vessels is hard and fine grained. The deposit is dated to the first half of the third century B.C.²⁷

The sanctuary at Mytilene was in use from the Classical period, or possibly even earlier. Lamps and domestic wares indicate that here, as in other Demeter sanctuaries, feasting and nocturnal ceremonies were important elements of festivals undertaken in the sanctuary area. Spatial analysis of pottery suggests that the site was roughly divided into two, the eastern half where a small majority of the votive hydriai and offering dishes were located and the western half where a small majority of the dining wares was discovered. A similar, but much clearer division of use, is evident in the Demeter sanctuary at Acrocorinth where the domestic dining wares were found in the lower half of the sanctuary in association with the dining halls, but the majority of the miniatures and other votive materials were found in the upper half of the sanctuary. Ritual killing of dining wares was also found at Acrocorinth. The divisions at Mytilene are not distinct, possibly because of the badly mixed state of the sanctuary or perhaps use-divisions were not adhered to closely by votaries.

²⁵Williams and Toli, 99.

²⁶Approximately twenty complete miniature kantharoi and numerous vessel fragments were found in this deposit.

²⁷Ibid., 99.

Part One: Conclusions

Analysis of pottery from Demeter sanctuaries is hindered by the small number of fully published sites. Many sanctuaries have been published in preliminary form, often with only 'unusual' artifacts discussed. Unfortunately, this can result in the creation of artificial artifact and pottery patterns, and so, of necessity, conclusions here must remain tentative.

One pattern that is immediately obvious upon comparison of pottery from the above sanctuaries is the large quantity of domestic wares found within the *temenos* boundaries. Important details of the pottery groups differ from site to site as regards, for example, the overall dates, the most popular vessel shapes and the production locations of imports, but the list of vessel types is almost monotonously similar. Each of the sanctuaries contained a majority of domestic pottery forms and at each site the pottery could be subdivided into vessels that were used for food preparation and storage (cooking vessels, krateres, basins, beakers, pithoi, hydriai, amphorae), the serving of food (oinochoai, olpai, trays, table hydriai), and finally the consumption of food and drink (various types of plates, bowls, and cups). It is important that in the publications of four of the sanctuaries the excavators even discussed that their sanctuary vessel corpus could be so closely compared to deposits found in habitation areas of their respective sites that only the votive miniatures indicated that the pottery was in fact cultic in nature²⁸.

Another noticeable feature of the pottery assemblages is that some sites had large amounts of their fine dining wares imported, while others used local pottery. This seems to be a very simple pattern based almost solely on the success of the local pottery industry. Cities that had a good and thriving local pottery production did not import large amounts of fine wares (Eretria, Corinth and Knossos), while those cities that had poor clays and therefore less successful pottery industries, tended to import much of their pottery (Cyrene, Tocra and Mytilene). All of the sites did, however, have varying amounts of Attic wares. The ubiquitous Attic pottery *may* have been present because it was thought to be a high-class ware, a status symbol imported especially for the sanctuary or for personal use before it was used in the festivals.

²⁸Corinth, Eretria, Knossos and Tocra.

Votive miniatures, on the other hand, were almost invariably local products. These miniatures were mass produced, often very poorly finished, inexpensive objects that were made to be used once and then deposited in the sanctuary. Tocra breaks this general pattern because the most common Archaic votive was an imported miniature kotyle, brought possibly from Corinth. This, however, changed in the Classical period when a locally produced miniature hydria became the most common votive offering. The reason for the imported votive is not known, because there was an active local pottery industry in the Archaic period.

The corpus of votive miniatures varies from sanctuary to sanctuary. The popularity of a specific form was seemingly a matter of local preference. Miniature hydriai were the most popular votive at Mytilene, Abdera, Kalyvia Sokhas, and the second most popular votive at Knossos and Tocra, while it was the third most popular at Acrocorinth. Other favourite miniatures include: the krateriskos at Knossos, the kalathos and offering trays at Acrocorinth, the kotyle at Tocra and the lekanis at Kalyvia Sokhas. Miniature hydriai, however, were the most popular offering to Demeter overall. Hydriai were used to carry water, and water was sacred in Greece and important in all festivals. Water was necessary for purification. It was used to cleanse the altar, an animal and the knife or other cult paraphernalia before a sacrifice took place and votaries frequently had prescribed pre-ritual ablutions²⁹. Water, however, was of special interest to Demeter because of its importance in agriculture; the correct amount of water at the appropriate growing season meant the difference between a good harvest and a year of hunger. The popularity of the hydriai was also evident in terracotta figurines. *Hydrophoroi*, women with a hydria on their heads, were common offerings at most Demeter sanctuaries. They may have represented ritual processions in which water was carried for festival use³⁰ or they may have represented the real-life connection women had with water as the ones who fetched it as part of their daily chores.

²⁹The Mystai bathed three times before they even entered the sanctuary at Eleusis. The first bath was on the sixteenth of Boedromion, at Phaleron, washing themselves and their live votive piglet. They bathed again while en route to Eleusis in the salt streams across the Kephisos River and finally a third time when they reached Eleusis at the well located outside the propylon.

³⁰The Parthenon frieze gives evidence of water being carried in hydriai in a ritual procession. The frieze, however, shows the water being carried by young men with the vessels on their shoulders, and not women with the vessels on their heads as the figurines portray.

Examination of pottery alone is not a secure method of identifying Demeter sanctuaries. The domestic characteristics of the pottery can obscure the fact that the area was sacred. It is only the addition of votive miniatures and other cult related material that indicates this pottery had other than secular meanings. The miniature vessels can aid in the identity of the goddess, but again they are not deity specific. Miniature hydriai were one of the most common offerings to Demeter, but they were also given to other deities. The important determinant for Demeter sanctuaries may be the *large quantity* of domestic wares and the large number of miniatures found in association. Many sanctuaries contain domestic pottery; there was after all only a limited number of vessel shapes so that it is not surprising the same vessel forms appear again and again in the archaeological record, but they do not contain massive dumps of such material created by ritual feasting as at the Demeter sanctuaries discussed above. The *large numbers* of specific miniature vessels should also be taken into consideration, especially the miniature hydria. Many sanctuaries may contain votive miniature hydriai, but approximately seven hundred miniature hydriai were uncovered at Mytilene, at least six hundred from the fill alone at Neandria, twelve thousand at Abdera and several hundred from Acrocorinth. Care must be taken, however, in how strictly such guidelines are used because there are always exceptions; for example, miniature hydriai were not found in the sanctuary of Demeter at Eretria and water was important in the cult of Hera, and so her sanctuaries also often contained large deposits of miniature hydriai³¹.

Part Two:

Small Finds

Small votives were not limited or restricted to particular deities, but some types were deemed more appropriate to some deities than to others. In order to understand the choice of offerings given to Demeter and to identify artifact assemblages, it is advantageous to be familiar with the goddess and her place in the Greek world. Demeter was associated with two spheres of influence: agriculture, connected closely

³¹Hera was another deity in whose cult water played a major role. Miniature hydriai are also found in her sanctuaries in large numbers, for example, hundreds of miniature hydriai were found in the Argive Heraion and a deposit of c. 900 miniature hydriai was found in the Heraion at Samos. See Ch. Waldstein, 1902, *The Argive Heraeum* I, 100ff and J.L. Caskey, 1952, 'Investigations at the Heraion of Argos', 1949, *Hesperia* 21, 175f.

to the growth of grain³² and the chthonic world, expressed through her daughter's marriage to Hades³³. Agricultural and fertility epithets include: Anesidora, Chl  e, Himalis, Karpophoros, Kourotrophos, and Sito. Chthonic titles include: Chamyne, Chthonia, Eleusinia, Erinys, and Thesmophoros. Demeter also held many geographical titles, indicating local manifestations of her cult³⁴.

³²Examples of Agriculture and Nature (Fertility) Epithets

Αγλαόκαρπος	Bounteous or rich in fruit: <u>Hymn to Demeter</u> 4
Αγλαοδώρος	Bringer of good gifts: <u>Hymn to Demeter</u> 54, 192, 492.
Ἀμαλλοφόρος	Bringer of sheaves : Eust. 1162, 27
Ἐυρώη or Ἐυρωπία	Demeter Europa - broad surfaced (LSJ, 731)
Εὐχλοος	Fresh and green: Soph. Oed. Col. 1600.
Ἰμαλῖς	Abundant: Athenaeus iii 109a.
Καρποφόρος	Fruit bearing, fruitful: Pausanias viii 53, 7.
Μαλοφόρος	Beast or apple carrying at Nisaia. Pausanias states that one of the accounts given of the epithet is that Demeter was named by the first people to raise sheep in the land: Pausanias i 44, 3
Μεγαλάρτος	Demeter of the Great Loaves: Athenaeus iii 109b
Πολυφόρβη	Bountiful, feeder of many: Hesiod, Theogony 912.
Πότνια or Πολυπότνια	Queen or Mistress: <u>Hymn to Demeter</u> 47, 54, 118, 203, 211, 492. Aristophanes, Frogs 1149, 1156.
Σιτοῦς	Lady of the Corn: Athenaeus iii 109a
Χλόη	Verdant: SIG III 1024, 11
Χρυσάωρ	Golden, often used as a general description or as a description of Demeter's hair. Reference comes from the colour of ripe grain: <u>Hymn to Demeter</u> 4
Ὠρηφόρος	Bringer of seasons: <u>Hymn to Demeter</u> 54, 492

³³Examples of Chthonic Epithets

Ἀγέλαστος	Grave, sad, mourning, grieving: <u>Hymn to Demeter</u> 200, 350, 361.
Ἐρινύς	Demeter the Fury at Onkion: Pausanias viii 25, 4
Θερμασία	Demeter of Heat at Hermione - may be a reference to the coming of hotter weather in Spring and Summer, or may indicate hot springs: Pausanias ii 34, 6.
Θεσμοφόρος	Demeter the Law Giver at Thebes: Pausanias ix 16, 5.
Μελαινίς	Black Demeter at Phigalia: Pausanias viii 42,1.
Χαμύνη	Demeter of the Ground (chthonic) at Olympia: Pausanias vi 21,1.
Χθονία	Demeter Chthonia on Mt. Pron, Hermione: Pausanias ii 35, 4-8.
Σεμνή	Awe creating (awful): <u>Hymn to Demeter</u> 1, 478, 492.

³⁴Examples of Geographical Cult Titles

Title	Location
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In art, representations of the goddess are frequently identified by the presence of one or more attributes³⁵. Much of her iconography is identifiable from the Hymn to

Ἀμφικτυονίς	Thermopylae (ancient Anthela), Lokris: Herodotus vii, 200.
Λερναία	Lerna, Argolid: Pausanias ii 36, 7.
Μυκαλησσίας	Mykalessos, Boeotia: Pausanias ix 19, 5-6; ix 27, 8.
Παναχαΐα	Aigion, Achaia: Pausanias vii 24, 3.
Πελασγίς	Argos, Argolid: Pausanias ii 22, 3.
Στειρίτις	Stiris, Phokis: Pausanias x 35, 10.

³⁵Summary Table of Demeter Iconography (artistic attributes and sacrificial animals):

<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Significance</i>
Asphodel and/or Narcissus flowers	1) These flowers were used by Hades to lure Kore into a trap thus allowing the abduction and rape of Demeter's daughter, <u>Hymn to Demeter</u> 8. 2) Flowers that grew in grain fields.
Bee (Melissa)	Bees were believed to be chthonic creatures because they constructed their nests in caves. This insect was also associated with crop growth and fertility because, although the Greeks did not understand the pollinating function of the bees, they noticed the association of bees and the annual advent of flowers. The bee was not portrayed in art along with Demeter or Kore, but priestesses and initiates of Demeter's mysteries were called 'Melissai'. Hesychius: s.v. μέλισσαι. Callimachus, <u>Ode to Apollo</u> 110. Nicander, <u>Alexipharmaca</u> 450-451.
Crown (polos or other), enthroned, sceptre	Reference to Demeter's recurring epithets of 'Potnia', 'Polypotnia' and 'Anassa', translated as Queen or Mistress. Homer, <u>Iliad</u> XIV, 326. <u>Hymn to Demeter</u> 47, 54, 75, 118, 203, 440 and 492. Aristophanes, <u>Thesmophoriazusae</u> 1149, 1156
Grain: heads or bundles of cut and bound grain	Represent her role as goddess of grain and crop fertility <u>Hymn to Demeter</u> 4, 306ff, 350ff, 450ff, 487-489.
Kiste (basket for secret ritual implements)	Basket in which secret ritual implements used in the Mysteries were kept. Clement of Alexandria, <u>Protrepticus</u> II, 21-22.
Peplos	When Demeter and her daughter Kore were portrayed together, they were often differentiated by dress. Demeter was depicted in a heavy Doric peplos, while Kore was dressed in a lighter Ionic chiton and himation.
Pigs including pregnant sows and piglets	1) Mythical reasons: Euboulos the swine herd and a herd of pigs swallowed when Kore was abducted. 2) Chthonic animals with close connections with the earth. 3) Fertile animal which produced a large number of young 4) They provided a large quantity of blood at sacrifices

Demeter, including: the narcissus and asphodel flowers, the torch, the pomegranate, grain (individual heads or tied into a bundle), and Demeter in various guises, including sitting huddled over in grief, as *kourotrophos* or as an enthroned and crowned Olympian deity. The Orphic version of the myth also furnishes an explanation as to why pigs were important in the cult³⁶. In this version, at the moment of her abduction the earth gaped suddenly swallowing Kore and a group of pigs which belonged to the swineherd Eubouleus³⁷. Festivals were also a source of attributes. This category encompasses a variety of objects which were important in cultic rituals including: the sacred meals or first fruits, winnowing fans, the kiste, a round basket which held sacred objects from the Greater Mysteries, piglets and *hydrophoroi* indicating the importance of water in agriculture and in purification rites. These various attributes from myth, art and ritual were considered integral to Demeter and therefore it was appropriate to offer physical representations of them to the goddess.

Pomegranate	1) Mythical reasons: Kore fed pomegranate seed in the Underworld so she was forced to return; <u>Hymn to Demeter</u> 372, 410ff. 2) Seen as a fertile fruit: large number of seeds in a dark red flesh.
Snake	1) Chthonic animal. 2) House and grain guardian - ate rodents. 3) Sheds its skin - seen as a symbol of re-birth. This animal was also used as an attribute of Persephone.
Torch	Demeter carried torches during her search for Kore; <u>Hymn to Demeter</u> 48, 61. It was also a general reference to Demeter's connection to the Underworld. A torch could also be carried by Kore.
Water and water carriers (<i>Hydrophoroi</i>)	Reference to the importance of water in agriculture and in chthonic rites.

³⁶Guthrie, 1952, 134. Clement of Alexandria, Protr. ii, 16-18: The Orphic version of the myth of the abduction of Kore was an Attic work written in the sixth century B.C. In this version, Kore's abduction took place in Eleusis itself and while Demeter was searching for her daughter, she was helped and entertained by a poor man named Dysaules and his wife Baubo. This couple lived in a small house with their sons Triptolemos and Eubouleus. The goddess was informed of the rape of Kore by the two sons who were tending their pigs nearby when the event took place.

³⁷Clement of Alexandria, Protr. ii, 14-15: "...story of Persephone gathering flowers, of her basket, and how she was seized by Hades, of the chasm that opened in the earth, and of the swine of Eubouleus that were swallowed up..., which is the reason for the custom of casting swine into the sacred caverns at the festival of the Thesmophoria."

Terracotta Figurines

Terracotta figurines were the most common votive objects dedicated in Greek sanctuaries. Coroplasts set up shop near sanctuaries and catered to pilgrims, each of whom probably acquired one or more figurines before entering the sanctuary³⁸. Votaries gave figurines as physical reminders of their presence in the sanctuaries, as part payment of entreaties, as a symbol of reverence or possibly even as an entrance fee required from each person who entered a sanctuary³⁹. Figurines were placed on offering benches within the temple, at the feet of the cult statue, in the ashes of burnt offerings or on the altar itself⁴⁰. A glance at Table Eight (Small Finds) provided at the end of this chapter shows that terracotta figurines are the most popular votive offering found in Demeter sanctuaries.

Studies of terracottas have shown that there were no prescribed categories of figurines which were to be offered to a specific deity⁴¹. It is, therefore, difficult or even impossible to identify securely the central deity of a sanctuary on the basis of these finds alone⁴². Specific figurine types, however, were considered to be more appropriate for certain deities. A 'typical' assemblage of terracottas from a Demeter sanctuary could include generic figurines which contained no reference to specific cultic activity, and terracottas that had a more specific cultic meaning. Generic figurines include draped standing females, worshippers, enthroned female wearing a *polos*⁴³ and dancers. Cult related figurines include representations of votaries with particular offerings or depictions of elements of a festival. Of particular importance to Demeter's cult are: female figurines which carried offerings including pigs, poppies, pomegranates, a box containing sacred *hiera* (*kanophoros*), a torch or water vessel (*hydrophoros*). Other figurines included the representation of a mother with a child in her lap (*kourotrophos*), individual sacrificial pigs, enthroned women with a *polos*

³⁸Thompson, Thompson and Rotroff, 237.

³⁹Alroth, 1988, EGCP 203

⁴⁰Ibid, 195ff. Figurines were found *in situ* on benches in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Heloros, Sicily. Offerings were found *in situ* on the altar at Kommos. A few examples of terracottas from the lamp deposit from Mytilene exhibit extensive burning indicating that they were either placed in a sacrificial fire or in the hot ashes of one.

⁴¹Ibid., 236.

⁴²Alroth, 1988., 236. Thompson, D.B, 1963, 58-60.

⁴³Thompson, Thompson and Rotroff, 276. The enthroned female with a *polos* could represent Aphrodite, Artemis, Demeter, Hekate, Hera, Persephone, Nemesis and Kybele.

representing the deity herself and models of food. Each figurine type represents an attribute from Demeter's iconography, sphere of influence or cult.

Male figurines are infrequent offerings in Demeter sanctuaries, but they are usually present in small numbers⁴⁴. Males may be less common either because the majority of the votaries were women, and worshippers tended to dedicate figurines of the same sex as themselves, or because men dedicated different types of objects. It is interesting to note, however, that male figurines were in the majority at Halikarnassos. All the figurines normally found in Demeter sanctuaries were present, including: standing draped women, women holding pigs or poppies and *hydrophoroi*. This predominance of male figurines likely does not indicate a difference in cultic activity in Halikarnassos, rather it is probably due to the composition of the excavated terracotta deposits; Newton comments that the figurines "seem to have been assorted like articles in a shop, many specimens of the same type occurring together"⁴⁵.

Figurines which represented other goddesses are usually present in Demeter sanctuaries in small numbers. Athena, Artemis, Hekate, Isis and Kybele are the most common. These figurines do not imply that other deities were worshipped in the sanctuary along with Demeter because votaries could dedicate offerings to related deities in any sanctuary⁴⁶. This custom of giving dedications of 'visiting deities' is especially important to the study of Demeter sanctuaries in the eastern Aegean. Kybele artifacts which are found in Eastern Aegean Demeter contexts suggest that Demeter was influenced by her eastern sister and her cult would have been almost virtually unrecognisable to people from mainland Greece⁴⁷. In some eastern Aegean cities there may have been a blurring of identities between Demeter and Kybele (Troy? or Smyrna?), but generally they were still two separate deities, each with their own sanctuaries and individual offerings. Kybele statues have been found in Eleusis⁴⁸ but no one suggests that the presence of these artifacts indicates that there, in Eleusis, Demeter was under Kybele's influence.

⁴⁴Zervoudaki, 130 - only 8% of the terracottas from the Demeter deposit in Rhodes represent males.

⁴⁵Newton, 1862, 2.1, 327.

⁴⁶Alroth, 1987, 9-19.

⁴⁷Mytilene contained three or four types of Kybele figurines: enthroned goddess with the lion in her lap, worshippers with tympanon, *naiskos* plaques and a possible Attis figure. See Chapter Two, *Small Finds: Terracottas* and Chapter Six for further discussion.

⁴⁸Vermaseren, *CCCP* ii, 110-112.

Occasionally a unique figurine type comes to light. Such a type is found at Priene which consists of a female face and attached legs with no intervening torso. There was a large variety of these figurines, including worshippers, votaries carrying stringed instruments or torches or with a basket of fruit balanced on the head and there was one type with no arms. This was a local motif which encompassed many of the typical figurine themes found in other Demeter sanctuaries but in an almost mocking fashion. These figurines had meaning within the local Demeter cult since they are not found beyond Priene; the excavators suggest that the types may represent Iambe/Baubo, the girl who, in the Hymn to Demeter, managed to make Demeter laugh when she arrived at Eleusis⁴⁹.

A table of terracotta types by site is included at the end of the chapter which provides a summary of the categories that are found in many known Demeter sanctuaries. An examination of this table clearly indicates that there were no geographical patterns of offerings; the same types of terracottas are found in Demeter sanctuaries throughout the Greek world. No sanctuary, however, has exactly the same terracotta assemblage as another. There are some figurine types that can be called 'diagnostic' i.e. those that were more likely to appear in a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter, including *hydrophoroi*, pigs, women with poppies, grain, sacred meals, etc., but none of these types was completely limited to Demeter alone. The subject or type of figurines dedicated to any deity seems to have been determined by the cult and myth of that deity, contemporary fashion and by the needs of the dedicator.

Kernoi

Ring kernoi, clay rings with attached miniature vessels, have been published from the Demeter sanctuaries at Chios, Kos, Rhodes, Tocra and Eleusis. These presumably were used in a similar fashion to Eleusinian kernoi to give numerous small offerings at one time. The fact that the most common attached miniature vessel is a hydria suggests that liquids were offered. Ring kernoi, however, are often found in funerary contexts suggesting that they were also dedicated to Demeter as chthonic offerings and not as a regular part of festivals. The scarcity of these vessels and the fact that

⁴⁹Wiegand and Schrader, 163. Iambe/Baubo: Hymn to Demeter 202-204.

they were occasionally dedicated to other deities does not make them useful in identifying Demeter sanctuaries.

Naturalia

Naturalia are objects from nature which were dedicated in sanctuaries⁵⁰. There are two basic categories: a) rare or strange natural objects offered because they were considered valuable or interesting, for example, unaltered coral, rock crystals and stalactite fragments and b) objects which were offered because they had intrinsic value in the cult, for example fertility symbols such as pine cones, grain, poppy heads and pomegranates (represented by finds of seeds). It is possible that women may have been the most common dedicators of the Type B *naturalia*, free offerings that they could gather from the garden, while men may have been the common dedicators of the Type A *naturalia*, strange objects acquired when working away from the home, traveling or by trade⁵¹.

It is difficult to compare *naturalia* from site to site because these objects are often not published either because they are not recognized as votives or they form a small component of the total preserved finds. Sir Charles Newton collected a rare shell, a *Triton Veriegatus* from the sanctuary at Knidos (a species found in the Red Sea) and three unaltered rock crystals were found in the area of the hearth altar (altar J) in the Demeter sanctuary of Mytilene - both are possibly examples of Type A *naturalia*.

Personal Belongings

A large number of votive objects from Demeter sanctuaries can be classified as personal belongings. These objects were owned by individuals before they were dedicated to the goddess; they had no inherent cultic value. The articles ranged from simple everyday accoutrements to expensive tools, household items and jewellery.

A wide range of personal belongings was dedicated by women. These objects were important in their lives, often reflecting their daily life and work, including needles, spindle whorls, loom weights, *astragaloï*, mirrors and cosmetic implements such as

⁵⁰Kyrieleis, 1988, EGCP 215, 218.

small bone spoons and palette knives. They also dedicated more personal and expensive objects, often jewellery including rings, pins, necklaces, hair spirals, earrings and pendants. The adornments range in material from bone through faience, bronze, silver and gold.

Because of the fertility aspects of Demeter's festivals and the restrictions against men, women are assumed to have been the principle votaries of Demeter sanctuaries. Cyrene and Knossos, however, preserve a surprising quantity of tools and weapons that in all likelihood were dedicated by men⁵². The list includes: nails, rivets, bolts, pins, chains, clamps, dowels, spikes, wire, cotter pins, iron and bronze knives, sickles, chisels, hooks, hammers, pickaxes, arrowheads, bridle adornments and lead sling shot. These objects are from the world of men, and it seems natural to assume that men, at least in Cyrene and Knossos had an active role in some aspects of Demeter's cult.

Defixiones (Curse Tablets)

Defixiones are tablets, usually of lead, on which curses and incantations against specific people were inscribed. Once inscribed, the tablets were generally folded two or four times with the writing on the inside and then were often pierced with a bronze or iron nail. They were given to daimons or chthonic deities. The most popular recipient was Hermes, followed in order of popularity by Hekate, Persephone, Hades, Gaia, Demeter, Zeus and the Fates⁵³. It was believed that these deities would then aid the maker of the tablet with his or her problem. The tablets usually contained pleas for justice and revenge for wrongs, frequently theft and slander, but they could also ask for other things, for example, help in wooing or hindering a business competitor. Curses were often written in a simple 'code'; the words were written backwards or lines could be written over the top of each other, or the letters of the name of the target victim could be mixed up. The dedicator rarely included their own name, but the name of the person who was to receive the curse was often cited. Tablets generally did not include a specific curse, suggesting that it was voiced by the dedicator upon deposition or simply left up to the deity.

⁵¹It is, of course possible that either sex could offer either type of *naturalia*; men could gather natural offerings or a women could obtain Type A *naturalia* (perhaps a gift from a male member of the household), and then in turn offer it at a sanctuary.

⁵²Warden, IV, part I, Small finds. Coldstream, 1973, chapter 8.

Curse tablets are found in many places. They were usually deposited in areas that had the most supernatural power. A tablet could be placed in the house or business of the 'target', or it could be placed in areas associated with chthonic deities such as deep pools of water, graves of the newly dead and in chthonic sanctuaries. Demeter was not the most popular recipient of curse tablets, but she did receive some⁵³. A cache of fifteen tablets dating to the first century B.C. was found at Knidos. They were dedicated to Demeter, Persephone and the other infernal deities. These tablets were all dedicated by women and the curses were mostly against women. They dealt with slander, stolen property, and personal enemies. The women ask for divine punishment of the wrong-doers (illness, loss of money, loss of happiness) and usually add the provision that if the person recants or returns the stolen objects the curse too will cease to have an effect. Two curse tablets were found in a field near the modern village of Arkesine on Amorgos. They called upon Queen Demeter and asked for retribution against a man, Epaphroditus, who had ruined the family business. Epaphroditus apparently first convinced slaves to run away from the family and then he told the story in the agora, causing the family to lose credibility. Eleven curse tablets were found in Roman levels at Acrocorinth. They were all fashioned from lead, folded or rolled and pierced with a nail. Here as in Knidos, all were set against women.

Individual curse tablets are, unfortunately, poor identifiers of Demeter sanctuaries. They were not necessarily deposited in sanctuaries even if Demeter was mentioned in the text. If a tablet was deposited in a Demeter sanctuary, it did not necessarily call upon Demeter for help. An example of this is a long curse found in the sanctuary at Acrocorinth asking for revenge against Karpile Babbia, a garland weaver. The tablet mentions the Fates, Hermes of the Underworld, Gaia and the children of Gaia, but not Demeter.

Faunal Materials

Pigs were important in many of Demeter's festivals. They were sacrificed at the Mysteries, at the Thesmophorion, at festivals of Demeter Chlōe and possibly at the

⁵³Gager, 12.

⁵⁴Williams, Hector, 1990, *BCMI* 4. *AR* 1990-91, 62. Jordan, 4-5.

Stenia and the Skira. Faunal evidence from many Demeter sanctuaries clearly indicates just how important pigs were: 90% of the bones found in the Classical sanctuary in Knossos were from suids, 78% of the identifiable bone from Cyrene came from pigs, the majority of bone from both Archaic and Classical Tocra were from pig, Newton collected pig bones from the sanctuary in Knidos and ash pits containing the remains numerous young pigs were found at Acrocorinth.

Faunal analysis is clearly one of the most important tools for identifying a Demeter sanctuary. Pigs were sacrificed to Demeter in massive numbers, far outnumbering all other sacrificial victims. They were, of course, an acceptable sacrifice for other deities, including Poseidon⁵⁵, Artemis⁵⁶, Apollo⁵⁷, Zeus⁵⁸, Hera⁵⁹ and even Aphrodite⁶⁰, but single animals or several pigs at a time were sacrificed, not the large numbers found in Demeter's sanctuaries.

Part Two: Conclusions

There are three main questions concerning the offerings examined in this chapter:

1. Is there a common artifact assemblage found in Demeter sanctuaries throughout the Greek world that can be utilized to identify her sanctuaries?
2. Are there discernible geographical or diachronic patterns of votive offerings?
3. Can votive offerings identify what festivals were celebrated within a specific Demeter sanctuary?

The answers to these questions are hindered by problems inherent in the data. The scarcity of fully published sites, and conversely, the abundance of partially published sites where only 'oddities' are mentioned create artificial artifact patterns and limit the definition of geographical patterns. The missing information creates its own body of important and unfortunately unanswerable questions, for example: do other Demeter sanctuaries contain these types of objects? If they do not, does this indicate a problem

⁵⁵*Odyssey* xiv 418-424.

⁵⁶Athenaeus 139 b.

⁵⁷Pausanias viii 38, 8: "They hold every year a festival in honour of the god and sacrifice in the market-place a boar to Apollo Helper (Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐπικουρίος), and after the sacrifice here they at once carry the victim to the sanctuary of Parrhasian Apollo (Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Παρρασίου) in procession to the music of the flute; cutting out the thigh-bones, they burn them, and also consume the meat of the victim on the spot. This it is their custom to do."

⁵⁸Hicks, *JHS* 9 (1889) 335, line 33.

⁵⁹Pausanias v 16, 8.

⁶⁰Athenaeus 95f.

with archaeological conservation and retrieval or cult differences?. The problems with the data must taken into consideration and the conclusions, therefore, remain frustratingly tentative.

Question One:

There is no clearly defined and unmistakable votive artifact assemblage, but there is a pattern of artifact types found more frequently in Demeter sanctuaries than in the sanctuaries of other deities. The small finds from Demeter sanctuaries were generally simple objects reflecting agricultural concerns, the daily lives of her worshippers or mythical and cultic events. Offerings most frequently dedicated to Demeter include: women's items (numerous clay loomweights, spindle whorls, dress pins and other jewellery), terracotta figurines of *hydrophoroi*, female votaries carrying piglets, representations of winnowing fans, sacred meals and single pigs and large numbers of generic female figurines, including worshippers and dancers. Other important items include: lamps, kernoi (Eleusinian or Ring type) miniature vessels, especially the *hydriai*, domestic wares and large quantities of suid remains. The types of offerings also did not differ significantly whether the sanctuary itself was intraurban, extraurban, remote or monumental.

These offerings were dedicated at the sanctuaries of other deities, but what is important for the identification of Demeter sanctuaries is the *combinations* and *large numbers* of these specific votive types. A clear example is seen at Emporio where Boardman published two *hydriai* from the sanctuary of Athena while Demeter sanctuaries frequently contain thousands of examples⁶¹. The same is true of the *hydrophoros* figurine which has been found in sanctuaries of Athena and of Artemis, but they do not form the majority of pre-fourth century female types as they do at Mytilene, Pergamon, Troy and Knossos. Domestic wares of various types are found in all sanctuaries, but not in the large numbers required to hold large, communal festival feasts. It is, however, the faunal material which produces the most conclusive evidence for identifying Demeter's sanctuaries. Analysis of faunal remains from securely identified sanctuaries indicate that pigs were Demeter's most common

⁶¹See Part One: Conclusions. Demeter sanctuaries with large numbers of miniature *hydriai* include Abdera, Acrocorinth, Cyrene, Eutresis, Knossos, Miletos, Mytilene, Neandria and Tocra.

sacrificial offering. As with Demeter's other offerings, quantity plays an important role. Suids were acceptable sacrifices for other deities, but in Demeter sanctuaries they could account for up to 90% of the total bone count, the other 10% comprising of young sheep, goats and cattle⁶².

Question Two:

There are no distinct, large-scale geographical distinctions of votive offerings. Demeter received similar objects in every sanctuary throughout the Greek world, but each site has a slightly different set of offerings dependent upon local or historical preferences for the favourite type of miniatures or terracotta figurines and other votives. Small-scale geographical votive groups are, however, perceptible within assemblages, mainly caused by the influence of important civic centres. A clear example of this is found at Mytilene. Pergamon was an influential dynastic centre with a large Demeter sanctuary. The contemporary smaller sanctuaries at Mytilene, Abdera and Troy contained almost identical figurine types as those found at Pergamon, including the double-handed worshippers and eye plaques, a terracotta type usually found in graves.

There are no discernible panhellenic diachronic patterns of votive dedication. Stylistic fads and manufacturing modifications of specific objects are naturally observable, especially in pottery (shape and decoration) and in terracotta figurines (mould types, body poses and decoration). The *hydphoros* provides a good example; it was one of the most popular figurines types dedicated in Demeter sanctuaries until the fourth century B.C., when the type fell out of favour and disappeared throughout the Greek world. Diachronic changes in votives are instead indicative of modifications, cultic or otherwise, at individual sanctuaries. Mytilene's sanctuary provides an illustration of how dedications changed over time at a single site - a small number of figurines attests that the cult was founded in the Archaic period. The categories and numbers of dedications expanded in the Classical period with the appearance of miniature hydriai, several figurine types, feasting wares and suid remains. This votive pattern continued into the early third century B.C. but an increase of artifact numbers and faunal remains

⁶²For more information see: Chapter 4, Table Seven, *Faunal Remains: Comparison of Faunal Material from Sanctuaries of Artemis, Athena and Demeter* at the end of this chapter.

reveals that the cult was flourishing. A major cultic change is implied in the mid-Hellenistic period when the artifact pattern altered significantly. At this time, the number of figurines increased but feasting wares virtually disappeared from the sanctuary.

Question Three:

Votives cannot be used to identify securely what festivals were held in a given sanctuary for three main reasons: 1) the identity of specific cult is confused by the fact that a sanctuary could have been used for more than a single festival; 2) not enough is known about the events and activities of Demeter's festivals to differentiate among the offerings and assign specific votives to specific rites (if indeed the Greeks differentiated their offerings), and 3) the basic similarity of offerings in Demeter's sanctuaries precludes the identity of distinct cultic patterns. The only festival that *may* be identifiable on the basis of artifacts is the Thesmophoria. This festival seems to be characterized by the presence of large quantities of feasting wares, lamps, kernoi, curse tablets, piglet remains and chthonic features such as hearth altars and *bothroi*. This was also Demeter's most commonly celebrated festival, and so it is likely that many of the known sanctuaries held these rites. Care, however, must be taken not to identify every Demeter sanctuary as a Thesmophorion simply because of the popularity of the festival. Artifacts and features used in one festival may easily have been used in other rites as well. Demeter's sanctuaries at Knossos and Cyrene contained tools and weapons, objects from the world of men and presumably dedicated by them to the deity. These votives need not rule out the celebration of the Thesmophoria but they could indicate that women's festivals were not the only ones held in the sanctuary grounds.

In summary, the parameters for identifying a sanctuary of Demeter are:

Architecturally:

- Small to medium sized sanctuaries were common. Large sanctuaries were generally cult centres and town show-pieces, easily identified by inscriptional evidence.
- Sanctuaries were not generally highly architecturally developed, but each sanctuary could contain *oikos* or small temple *in antis*. Peripteral temples were rare as were completely hypaethral sanctuaries, but not unknown.

- Demeter's sanctuaries were located virtually anywhere (agora, acropolis, town periphery, mountain passes, rural settings, abandoned towns, etc.), but if they were closely associated with a town, they were commonly laid out at its edges (extraurban) or in uninhabited areas (intraurban)
- Isolation, either natural or man-made, was a common characteristic but not mandatory
- Many sanctuaries had provisions for secrecy if it was required (*temenos* walls, location, temporary structures, halls for mystery rites)
- Sanctuaries were usually associated with a water source (natural or man-made) and often a sacred grove

Artificially:

- Large number of generic female terracotta figurine types (worshippers, dancers)
- *Hydrophoroi* accounted for a large number of the total figurine types, down to the fourth century B.C. when they stopped being produced
- Terracotta figurines that reflected agricultural and cultic themes (pigs, sacred meals, winnowing fans, female votaries with piglets)
- Large numbers of miniature hydriai
- Large numbers of other miniature vessel types
- Lamps
- Kernoi (Eleusinian or Ring types)
- Objects from the lives of women (loom weights, spindle whorls, jewellery, etc.)
- Curse tablets
- Feasting wares (pottery assemblage could be mistaken for a domestic context except for presence of votive miniatures)
- Suid remains forms the majority of the faunal materials, with some other domestic animals represented, for example, sheep/goat
- The majority of the suid remains were from piglets and foetal animals

Identification of Individual Cult Festivals:

- Identification of Demeter's festivals is hindered by the scarcity of knowledge about specific rituals. This lack of data is caused by the secrecy of many festivals and by the similarity of dedications and ritual paraphernalia.
- The Thesmophoria was the most common festival, celebrated in every *polis* so it is possible that each sanctuary held this festival. Further identification of individual cult festivals is, however also dubious because more than one festival could have been held in each Demeter sanctuary.

- The topography of a sanctuary is not a good indicator of the festivals celebrated. S. Cole theorizes that a Demeter sanctuary was commonly situated so that it connected a town to its prime agricultural lands, often directly overlooking them⁶³. Such a location would seem advantageous for a Demeter sanctuary - the goddess could overlook her area of influence - but there is no evidence that links this location to a specific festival. The most likely festival to be held in such a location was the Thesmophoria, but unfortunately, Table Five of Chapter Three reveals that a Thesmophorion could be located in a wide variety of locations, many not noticeably connected to the landscape⁶⁴.

The Archaic and Classical Thesmophorion at Eretria Revisited:

Arthur Muller, in a review of Metzger's publication of the site at Eretria, questioned the sanctuary's identification⁶⁵. At this point, it is useful to re-examine this site, using the above parameters. Topographically and architecturally, the sanctuary at Eretria meets the rather unspecific requirements of a Demeter sanctuary; it is a small sanctuary with a *peribolos* wall, an *oikos* and an *altar*, it is an intramural-type site, away from the inhabited areas of the city, and importantly for a possible Thesmophorion, it contains chthonic elements (the smoothed bedrock path and votive offerings placed among the bedrock spurs and in a large natural hole). Artifactually, however, there are problems with this sanctuary. The site does contain most of the expected pottery and small finds: domestic wares, both cooking/storage and feasting types, spindle whorls and loom weights, various female terracotta figurines and numerous miniature vessels. The problem is that again and again, the corpus of pottery from securely identified Demeter sanctuaries contains *numerous* examples (often up into the thousands) of miniature hydriai. Eretria only contains miniature versions of feasting wares and *no* miniature hydriai. Another common characteristic of Demeter sanctuaries (at least until the fourth century) is the presence of large numbers of terracotta *hydrophoroi*. Metzger only publishes five of these important figurines.

These missing artifact-types call the identity of the sanctuary into doubt. The deity is probably female and probably has a chthonic cultic element, but it is difficult to say

⁶³Cole, 1994, 212-213, 215. Béquignon, 1958, 149-177.

⁶⁴For example: Abdera (suffered from severe flooding), Alexandria, Athens, Delos (near the merchant port), Ephesos, Iasos, Megalopolis (agora), Miletos, Rhodes, Syracuse, Thebes (Kadmeia).

⁶⁵Muller, 1989, 168-169.

with certainty which deity was worshipped in this sanctuary. Unfortunately, some of the most important data - the faunal remains from the ash pit near the altar - seemingly have not been examined⁶⁶. These remains could supply a very strong clue to the identity of the god. If these bones are mostly from suids, Demeter cannot be ruled out even with the doubts cast by the missing artifact groups. Another aid in the identification of this sanctuary would be a more regional approach to the problem. Artifact assemblages and other comparanda from various sanctuaries throughout the area (Eretria itself, Euboea and possibly Boeotia) could provide more information, hopefully resulting in a more accurate identification⁶⁷.

⁶⁶Metzger, 9, only mentions that burned bone and ash were found near the altar, probably cleaned off the altar after sacrifices. The species are not identified.

⁶⁷Questions for consideration: Are there other possible Demeter sanctuaries in the area that lack miniature hydriai and so could the dearth of these objects be normal for this area? Are there sanctuaries of other deities that have similar artifact assemblages?

Table Eight: Small Finds by Site

	A c r o c o l i n h	C h i o s	C y r e n e	D i o n	E l e u s i s	E r e t r i a	E u t r e s i s	H a l i k a r n a s s o s	I a s o s	K a l y v i a S o k h a s	K n i d o s	K n o s s o s	K n o s	M i l e t u s	M y c e n e	P r i e n e	R h o d e s	T e g e a	T o c r a	T r o y
--	--	-----------------------	----------------------------	------------------	---------------------------------	---------------------------------	--------------------------------------	---	-----------------------	---	----------------------------	---------------------------------	------------------	---------------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	------------------

Animal statuettes (marble or bronze)	●			D							●							●		
<i>Astragaloi</i>			●												●					
Bone tools			●								●	●								
Faience			●								●	●							●	
Faunal	●		●								●	●			●				●	●
Gaming pieces			●								●									
Glass			●								R	R								
Hardware (nails, hooks, spikes, blades, etc.)			●									●								
Iron implements			●																	
Jewellery (bone)			●								●	●							●	
Jewellery (gold, silver, bronze)	●		●			●	R				●	●		?					●	
Kernoi, Eleusinian					●									?						
Kernoi, Ring		●		●	●								●		●		●		●	
Lamps			●	●	●		●	R	●		●	●			●		●	●	●	
Lead or Bronze <i>defixiones</i>	●										●				●					
Loom weights		●	●									●			●					
Marble 'Weights'											●				●					
Marble Furniture										●						●				
Miniature vessels	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	?	●	?
Mirror	●					●													●	
Naturalia			●								●				●					
Plastic Vessels																			●	
Statues (life size, marble or bronze)								R		●	●		●			●				
Statuettes (marble or bronze)			●							●	●							●		
Terracottas	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●

Table Eight: Small Finds by Site

	A c c r o p o l i s	C h i o s	C y r e n e	D i o n	E l e u s i s	E r e t r i a	E u t r e s i s	H a l i k a r n a s s o s	I a s o s	K a l y v i a S o k h a s	K n i d o s	K n o s s o s	K n o s s o s	M i l e t u s	M y t i l e n e	P r i e n e	R h o d e s	T e g e a	T o c r a	T r o y
--	--	-----------------------	----------------------------	------------------	---------------------------------	---------------------------------	--------------------------------------	---	-----------------------	---	----------------------------	---------------------------------	---------------------------------	---------------------------------	--------------------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	------------------

Tools			●									●								
Vessels, metal			●							●		●								
Vessels, stone			●				●					●								
Votive plaques (marble or clay)										●	●									
Weapons			●									●								

Key:
● - present in the site
R - present in the site, Roman date material
? - unknown

Table Nine: Terracotta Figurines by Site

	Acrocorinth	Athens Coroplast Dump	Athens Demeter Cistern	Bitalemi	Chios	Cyrene	Eleusis	Eretria	Eutresis	Halikarnassos	Iasos	Knidos	Knossos	Kos	Miletus	Mount Taygetos	Mytilene	Pergamon	Priene	Rhodes	Tocra	Troy Context 5
Abduction of Kore relief plaque														●								
Aphrodite																	●	●		●		●
Asklepios																		●				
Astragalos																	●					
Athena																		●				●
Attis								?									●					
Bird	●							?		●		●	?				●				●	
Bull												●	?									
Chest or trunk																		●				
Children, enthroned								●														
Cock	●													?								●
Dancer, Female	●	●						●	●	●							●	●	●	●	●	●
Dionysos	●									●								●				
Dog																	●					●
Draped Female, standing	●	●		●	?	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Draped figures (sex unknown)								●									●	●				
Draped Male, standing		●						?		●	●		●				●	●		●		
Enthroned Female with polos	●			●	●	●		●	●				●	●			●	●		●	●	●
Enthroned Female with veiled head					●	●			●				●									
Eros																	●	●		●		●
Eye plaque																	●	●				
Female child	●			●				●			●									●		
Female head with legs (Iambe/Baubo)																			●			
Female holding tympanon								●									●			●		
Female standing holding dove				●				●	●	●					●							
Female standing holding hare										●												

Table Nine: Terracotta Figurines by Site

	A c r o c o r i n t h	A t h e n s C o r o p l a s t D u m p	A t h e n s D e m e t e r C i s t e r n	B i t a l e m i	C h i o s	C y r e n e	E l e u s i s	E r e t r i a	E u t r e s i s	H a l i k a r n a s s o s	I a s o s	K n i d o s	K n o s s o s	K o s	M i l e t u s	M o u n t T a y g e t o s	M y c e n e	P e r g a m o n	P r i e n e	R h o d e s	T o c r a	T r o y C o n t e x t 5
Female standing holding phiale/box/sack		●						●		●			●								●	
Female standing holding pig	●			●					●	●					●						●	
Female standing holding pomegranate				●						●	●										●	
Female standing holding poppies, other flowers				●					●	●				●								
Female Votary holding a fan		●							●													
Female Votary holding a mirror		●							●													
Female Votary holding Goose								●														
Female Votary holding Wreath								●													●	
Female with diadem	●			●					●									●	●			
Female, himation over head, eyes and nose visible	●		●						●									●	●			
Female, standing holding a torch	●			●														●		●		
Female, standing, polos, holding torch and pig (priestess?)	●																					
***Female holding piglet				●																		
Flower plaque											●							●				●
Full scale terracotta sculpture	●			●																		
Hierodoulos	●	●	●									●	●	●				●	●			●
Herakles																						●
Herm												●										●
Horse													●	?								
Horsemen plaque																					●	●
Hydrophoros	●	●		●		●		●	●	●	●		●	●	●			●	●	●	●	●

Table Nine: Terracotta Figurines by Site

	Acrocorinth	Athens Coroplast Dump	Athens Demeter Cistern	Bitalemi	Chios	Cyrene	Eleusis	Eretria	Eutresis	Halikarnassos	Iasos	Knidos	Knossos	Kos	Miletus	Mount Taygetos	Mytilene	Pergamon	Priene	Rhodes	Tocra	Troy Context 5
Hydrophoros holding object in second hand											●											
Isis or Isis priestess																	●	●				
Kanotrophos			●							●										●		
Kourotrophos				●						●			●				●				●	
Kybele							●		●								●	●		●		●
Kybele lion (from throne or lap)							●										●					●
Kybele Musician Votaries with pipes, lyre, or kithara							●							●				●				
Male child	●						●	●	●				●					●		●	●	●
Male exposing genitals																	●					
Male, bearded with phiale											●											
Male, nude, standing	●						●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●			●					
Naiskos plaque																	●					
Phallus symbol																	●					
Pig				●		●		?	●		●		●	?			●		●	●	●	
Plastic flasks (animal and human design)																					●	
Protome, nude female																					●	
Protomes (male and female)		●		●			●						●				●			●		●
Satyr																		●				
Seated Draped Figure (male and female)				●			●	●					●				●	●		●		
Silenos	●													●								
Siren									●													
Spheres												●					●					
Sphinx									●													
Standing female leaning on a pillar										●			●					●	●			
Theatrical Mask	●					●			●			●	●					●				
Thymiaterion (small altar/incense burner)		●															●					●

Table Nine: Terracotta Figurines by Site

	A c c o r i n t h	A t h e n s C o r o p l a s t D u m p	A t h e n s D e m e t e r C i s t e r n	B i t a l e m i	C h i o s	C y r e n e	E l e u s i s	E r e t r i a	E u t r e s i s	H a l k a r n a s s o s	I a s o s	K n i d o s	K n o s s o s	K o s	M e t e t u s	* M o u n t T a y g e t o s	M y t i l e n e	P e r g a m o n	P r i e n e	R h o d e s	T o c r a	T r o y C o n t e x t 5	
Two enthroned females under one mantle											●								●			●	
Votive Meal	●			●														●					●
Worshipper , One-handed																		●	●		●		●
Worshipper , Double- handed																		●	●				●
Worshipper, Female kneeling																		●					●
Kernoi, Ring				●	●		●								●	●		●			●	●	
Miniature Vessels	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●

Key:
● - present in the site
R - present in the site, Roman date material
? - unknown

Notes: This chart does not take into consideration the date or the numbers of terracotta figurines present at each site.

* Kalyvia Sokhas: only ten fragmentary terracotta figurines were found in the flood wash. Heavier objects that were less affected by the flood were more commonly found.

** Female head with legs: a terracotta type found only in Priene Demeter sanctuary. There are numerous types of these figures: no arms portrayed, one-handed worshipper, carrying objects in one hand (torch, stringed instrument) and type with a basket with fruit balanced on the head. These figurines are identified as Iambe/Baubo.

CHAPTER FIVE

DEMETER, KYBELE, ARTEMIS, ATHENA AND HERA

In this chapter, Demeter sites are compared to those of a number of female deities in order to illuminate artifactual and topographical distinctions that can aid in the archaeological discrimination of sanctuary patrimony in the absence of literary evidence. This comparison is very important for female deities because their votive offerings have considerable commonality precluding simple and reliable identification. The sanctuaries and artifacts of Kybele, Artemis, Athena and Hera are examined in this chapter because they are the deities who are most likely to be mistaken for Demeter.

KYBELE

Kybele is a deity who originated in Phrygia¹. She is the goddess of lions and wild places (mountains and uncultivated lands), and a powerful chthonic fertility deity who was worshipped with mystery rites. Greeks came into contact with her early in their history during eastern trade and colonization. They hellenised her cult, adopting some of the rites and altering others, and then spread the cult throughout the Greek world. An attempt to differentiate clearly between Kybele and Demeter sites is necessary as the cultic boundaries between these two goddesses were sometimes blurred². This goddess was generally depicted seated in a high throne, a tall *polos* on her head and,

¹Kybele may have been a direct descendent of the great earth mother goddess worshipped in Anatolia from c 7000 years. For further reading on the origins of Kybele and her cult see: Gasparro, Giulia Sfameni, 1985. Soteriology and Mystic Aspects in the Cult of Cybele and Attis. Leiden: E.J. Brill. Naumann, Friederike, 1983. Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der Phrygischen und der Griechischen Kunst, Istanbuler Mitteilungen 28. Vermaseren, Maarten J., 1977. Cybele and Attis - The Myth and Cult. London: Thames and Hudson.

²In some *poleis* Demeter may have been influenced by Kybele, absorbing some of her characteristics and spheres of influence. An example of this syncretism may be found at Smyrna where Demeter is called by a cult epithet that is commonly used for Kybele, s.v. IvS II, i. 655 and Chapter Six, n. 62.

most importantly, in association with a lion. The lion could be on her lap, at her feet, or represented as arm rests on her throne.

It is notable that few Kybele sanctuaries have been found in the Greek world³. Scarcity of sites, however, is not due to a lack of popularity, but due to the cult itself - Kybele's worship, beyond her major cult centres, did not require large and developed sanctuaries. Unfortunately the few sanctuaries that were built do not furnish a distinct combination of characteristics that allows Kybele sites to be identified securely, either by their location or by their internal organization.

Kybele's sanctuaries, whether urban or rustic, were built in many of the same areas as those of Demeter. Urban sanctuaries were generally small and located close to either the interior or exterior face of the town fortifications, but they were less likely than Demeter sanctuaries to be situated near the urban centre of a town⁴. The extraurban sites, however, often differed from Demeter's. Demeter sanctuaries were customarily located on the side of a hill or acropolis, but Kybele's were situated on the heights of rugged mountains. Kybele was worshipped in these wild landscapes because it was suitable for her as a fertility goddess of raw nature and wild animals, while Demeter was near her sphere of influence, the tamed and civilized agricultural lands of the *polis*.

The internal topography of Kybele sanctuaries was similar to Demeter sites. They could be hypaethral with only a simple altar or *bothros* (the upper sanctuary at Troy⁵,

³CCCP volumes I to VIII contain an exhaustive catalogue of Kybele sites and artifacts.

⁴Chatzi, 515-517. Mazarakis Ainian, 1985, 29. Spencer, 1995, 296-299. A sixth century B.C. Archaic apsidal structure in the Epano Skala (north harbour) of Mytilene town has been identified as a sanctuary of because of its ground-plan and the high quality of the finds. Kybele is tentatively identified as the residing deity because a headless statue of this goddess with a lion in her lap was found nearby, re-used in a later structure. If this identification is correct, it indicates that Kybele's sanctuaries could also be located closer to the centre of the town and not just on the peripheries.

⁵The Upper Sanctuary at Troy is located on the south-west side of the citadel, situated against the town wall. It was founded in Troy VIII (seventh century B.C.) and it remained in use into the first century B.C. when it was refurbished for the final time, a programme initiated possibly by Julius Caesar and then completed by Augustus. This sanctuary was renovated numerous times throughout its history, but the same basic plan was retained throughout. It consisted of an open courtyard surrounded by a square *temenos* wall. A large altar was located roughly in the middle of the courtyard and an offering table was built beside it. Pottery, terracotta figurines, ash and burned bones were found in conjunction with this altar. The bones were identified as belonging to sheep, goats, pigs and a large wild cat, either a tiger or a leopard. The presence of the big cat remains is good support for the identification of the sanctuary's primary deity. The Upper Sanctuary is discussed in more detail in the archaeological site catalogue, s.v. Troy, the Upper sanctuary.

Priene⁶ and Ephesos⁷), or they could contain a cult structure. Kybele's cult buildings were, however, usually acanonical with niches for offerings and benches along the walls (Kapikaya⁸). In contrast to her smaller sanctuaries, large Kybele centres were embellished with the traditional columnar temple⁹.

⁶Wiegand and Schrader, 171-172. Priene's Metroon is a small hypaethral sanctuary located immediately inside the West Gate of the town. The sanctuary consists of an irregular five-sided *peribolos*. The south side of the *temenos* wall and part of the east were cut into the bedrock in order to fit the sanctuary into the small and awkward space available. A small gate in the east wall afforded access to the sanctuary. Inside the courtyard on the west side is a *bothros*, 1.5m by 1.5m and 1m deep which was filled with ash, charred bone fragments, miniature vessels (amphorae and jugs) and burned terracotta figurines. Two of the terracotta figurines represented Kybele. The sanctuary, however, was identified on the basis of a marble statue of Kybele enthroned with her feet resting on a lion which was excavated from within the *temenos*. For a sanctuary plan see: Wiegand and Schrader, plan XXI, "Das Westviertel von Priene".

⁷CCCA I, 184. The sanctuary of Kybele at Ephesos was seemingly located in the north-east slope of the Panajirdagh. There is no preserved architecture, but a large number of niches were found cut into the slope. A natural rock in the middle of the slope may have been used as the altar. It is decorated with a relief carving and inscription (SEG IV, 102 and 524). Terracotta figurines and marble reliefs of Kybele were in the carved niches. A carved marble altar dedicated to Pluton, Demeter and Kore (IvE 1228) was also found on the south-east slope of Panajirdag.

⁸Naumann, 248. CCCA I, 124. Radt, 1978. Kybele's sanctuary is situated on Kapikaya mountain five km north-west of Pergamon. The sanctuary consists of a terrace, built up 20m above the original ground level which fronts a small (4m by 4.5m) shallow cave. A man-made room, probably with a wooden roof, afforded access to the cave. In the cave itself, there was a small spring and the rock wall was carved to create a podium, bench, small niches for offerings and a single large niche for the cult statue. Terracotta figurines of Kybele were used to identify the sanctuary's presiding deity.

⁹Pessinus, which was of Phrygian origin, and Mamurt Kale were well developed, containing large temples and altars.

Pessinus: Strabo xii 567. "Pessinus is the greatest of the emporiums in that part of the world, containing a temple of the Mother of the gods, which is an object of great veneration....The sacred precinct has been built up by the Attalid kings in a manner befitting a holy place, with a sanctuary and also with porticoes of white marble." Diodorus iii 59, 8.: "But, the myth goes on to say, a pestilence fell upon human beings throughout Phrygia and the land ceased to bear fruit, and when the unfortunate people inquired of the god (Apollo) how they might rid themselves of their ills he commanded them, it is said, to bury the body of Attis and to honour Kybele as a goddess...As for Kybele, in ancient times they erected altars and performed sacrifices to her yearly, and later they built for her a costly temple in Pissinus of Phrygia, and established honours and sacrifices of the greatest magnificence, Midas their king taking part in all these works out of his devotion to beauty; and beside the statue of the goddess they set up panthers and lions, since it was the common opinion that she had first been nursed by these animals." CCCA I, 23. Pessinus was the centre of Kybele worship. The sanctuary has not been discovered, but according to ancient sources, it was founded by the Phrygians and continued in use into the Roman period.

Mamurt Kale: Conze, A and P. Schazmann, 1911, "Mamurt-Kaleh. Ein Tempel der Göttermutter unweit Pergamon", JdI 9. CCCA I, 120-124. Naumann, 248. The sanctuary is situated near the town of Pergamon, between the modern villages of Örtülü and Karadere. It contains the remains of a Doric temple which was dedicated by Philetaerus of Pergamon in c 300 B.C. (the sanctuary itself pre-dated the temple). The temple measures 11.15m long and 7m wide and consists of a *pronaos* and *cella*. The *pronaos* had two columns *in antis* and benches lining the walls. The *cella* contained a cult statue that pre-dated the temple. A large altar, 9m long by 5m wide, is located to the east of the temple. Long halls formed a courtyard was around the front of the temple and altar. Each hall had a door at the front and an interior row of columns.

Votive offerings and sacrificial remains are more useful for differentiating Kybele sites from Demeter's. One of the most common offerings (terracotta figurines and sculpture) in Kybele's sanctuaries were representations of the goddess herself or Attis, her paramour (a young male wearing a cape and a peaked Phrygian cap). These representations do not, by themselves, ensure that the sanctuary was sacred to Kybele because, as seen in Chapter three, they could also be dedicated in Demeter sanctuaries.

An examination of sacrificial victims provides the most secure evidence for differentiating between these two deities. Both goddesses received the standard offerings of sheep, goats and pigs. The *quantity* of suid remains in Demeter sites, however, far outnumbers Kybele's sites; piglets did not play the major rôle in Kybele's worship that they did in Demeter's. Kybele was also offered wild animals and bulls, animals that Demeter either never or very rarely received in her role as a goddess of agriculture and civilization¹⁰.

ARTEMIS

Artemis is the virgin goddess of wild animals, of the hunt and of hunters. A large and feral entourage of nymphs accompanied the goddess in the mountains, hunting, dancing and playing. Artemis was also of great importance in the lives of women. She, as the virgin goddess, was given offerings by girls approaching marriage, offerings that would give them freedom from the power of the virgin and allow them to survive procreation. Women who died in childbirth were thought to have been slain by the goddess's arrows and their garments were dedicated in her sanctuaries. Artemis was portrayed as a young woman, dressed in a short chiton and carrying a bow and with a quiver over one shoulder. A hind or a hunting dog was generally portrayed at her feet.

Pausanias describes numerous Artemis sanctuaries¹¹. It quickly becomes evident that topography is not a good indicator of this deity's identity as her sanctuaries have a

¹⁰Demeter received sheep, goats, calves and predominantly piglets. Uncharacteristically, Theban Demeter received a bull sacrifice.

¹¹Pausanias i 29, 2; i 31, 1; i 36, 1; ii 21, 1; ii 25, 3; ii 27, 4; ii 27, 5; ii 28, 2; ii 30, 1, 7; iii 16, 7ff; iii 24, 8-9; vii 5, 4; vii 18, 8; vii 26, 3; vii 26, 5; vii 27, 4; viii 13, 1; viii 18, 8; viii 22, 8; viii 39, 5; viii 53, 11; ix 17, 5; x 35, 4; x 37, 1; x 38, 5.

wide variation of topographical location. As a goddess of wild animals and open spaces, Artemis sites tended to be extramural, often located in the mountains or in uncultivated areas, but they could be situated in all the same types of locations as Demeter's sanctuaries¹². The internal topography of Artemis' sanctuaries also does not differ significantly from Demeter's. Pausanias indicates that Artemis received all types of sanctuaries, from a simple hypaethral *temenos* with an altar, to sacred groves, to large sanctuaries with elaborate temples¹³. There was, however, a general tendency for Artemis sanctuaries to have the familiar arrangement of a temple and an altar, surrounded by a *peribolos* wall. If an Artemis sanctuary contains a temple, it can occasionally securely identify the goddess because it and the altar were sometimes

¹²Local myth frequently provided the story behind the foundation of many sanctuaries, for example, many were built to thank Artemis for her help in battle, see: Pausanias ii 21, 1; ii 27, 4; vii 18, 8; vii 26, 3; ix 17, 1.

¹³The sanctuary of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi: Pausanias viii 18, 8. Mitsopoulos-Leon, 97-100. The sanctuary is located on the slope of Prophetes Ilias with the temple on the top of the hill in a dominant position. Artifacts indicate that the sanctuary was in use from at least the sixth century B.C., but the preserved temple dates from the end of the fourth or early third century. This temple is unusual, consisting of a *cella* organised into a central nave and two flanking aisles which were accessed from the nave by side doors. A further door on the west end of the *cella* gave access to an *adyton*, presumably an area where ritual paraphernalia was stored and access was limited to specific cult personnel. This temple was not peristylar, instead pillars were applied to the exterior walls, while the interior had half-columns. Remains of other structures were found down the hillside including a propylon, a fountain and a building called the *exedra* which may have housed statues. The sanctuary of Artemis of Ephesos: Bammer, 1984 and 1993. The goddess of this sanctuary was called Artemis, but her eastern-style cult statue suggests that this was not the same goddess known on the Greek mainland. At Ephesos, her sanctuary is located in low-lying ground outside the town walls. The first major building period dates to the sixth century, but traces of earlier remains indicate that the sanctuary area was in use at least by the late eighth century (and recent excavation results may indicate that there was cult continuity on this site from the Bronze Age). From the sixth century, a series of increasingly large and ornate temples was constructed - the sixth century temple, the 'Croesus temple' which was purposely burned in 356 B.C. and then a replacement temple which was started almost immediately after 356 B.C. The temples were all oriented to the west, facing a large altar and courtyard. Burned faunal remains from this area include: goat, pig, dog, deer and human. The sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia (Euboea): Sapouna-Sakellarakis, 235-263. Inscriptional evidence suggests that this sanctuary may have been the most important Artemis sanctuary in Euboea. A pan-Euboean festival was held in the months of *Anthesterion* and *Artemisios* which consisted of athletic and musical competitions, dances and sacrifices. The exact location of the sanctuary and temple is not known, but artifacts relating to Artemis cult, including a large deposit and a dedicatory inscription, have been found on a hill in the region of Amarynthos. The artifacts included: terracotta figurines (Artemis with dog and / or stag, enthroned female deities, *kourotrophoi*, figures of Apollo, female worshippers and dancers), metal (lead inlay from a throne, lead sheet in shape of lion, fibulae, jewellery) and pottery (lamps, aryballoi, miniature vessels and local pottery decorated with drawings of baskets and bowls, often blue in colour, which were also found in the Thesmophorion in Eretria). Artifacts range in date from the eighth century to the first century B.C.

oriented to the west instead of to the east as was done in the sanctuaries of other deities¹⁴.

Votive offerings also do not provide a secure identification since many of the same types were dedicated to Artemis and to Demeter. Common offerings include: terracotta *kourotrophoi*, enthroned deities crowned with a tall *polos*, female worshippers and votaries with garlands or crowns, dancers and children. *Hydrophoroi* figurines, a very important item in Demeter's artifact assemblage, have also been found in Artemis sanctuaries¹⁵ as have the significant miniature vessel types, including pyxides, hydriai, bowls and cups. Since Artemis, like Demeter, was important in the lives of women her other common dedications include their objects of daily use (jewellery, loom weights and spindle whorls). Domestic pottery and lamps are also found in the sanctuaries of both deities¹⁶.

The differences between the two deities is clearest in the area of sacrificial offerings. Artemis, as the goddess of the hunt, received both representations and sacrifices of wild animals, species that Demeter as the goddess of agriculture and indirectly of domesticated animals, did not receive. Terracotta figurines of deer, lions and bulls, portrayed either alone, with a votary or with the goddess herself, were common. Successful hunters often dedicated sections of their kills to Artemis. Horns, hoofs, teeth and possibly even whole heads of deer and wild boar were set up in a sanctuary possibly hung on the walls¹⁷. Pausanias records the wide range of wild animals sacrificed at the sanctuary of Artemis Laphria at Patras:

vii 18, 11-13: "Every year too the people of Patrae celebrate the festival of Laphria in honour of their Artemis, and at it they employ a method of sacrifice peculiar to the place. Round the altar in a circle they set up logs of wood still green, each of them sixteen cubits long. On the altar within the circle is placed the driest of their wood. Just before the

¹⁴For example, the Artemision at Ephesos is oriented to the west, while the sanctuary at Lousoi faces east.

¹⁵Mitsopoulos-Leon, 97-108. The sanctuary of Artemis of Lousoi in Arkadia contained terracotta *hydrophoroi*, miniature hydriai and perirrhanteria, evidence for the importance of water in this local cult.

¹⁶For artifacts from Demeter sanctuaries see Chapter Four. For artifacts from a sampling of Artemis sanctuaries see: Mitsopoulos-Leon, 97-108. Sapouna-Sakellarakis, 235-263. Bammer, 1984.

¹⁷Bevan, 76-77.

time of the festival, they construct a smooth ascent to the altar, piling earth upon the altar steps. The festival begins with a most splendid procession in honour of Artemis, and the maiden officiating as priestess rides last in the procession upon a car yoked to deer. It is, however, not till the next day that the sacrifice is offered, and the festival is not only a state function but also quite a popular general holiday. For the people throw alive upon the altar edible birds and every kind of victim as well; there are wild boars, deer and gazelles; some bring wolf-cubs or bear-cubs, others full-grown beasts. They also place upon the altar fruit of cultivated trees. Next they set fire to the wood. At this point I have seen some of the beasts, including a bear, forcing their way outside at the first rush of the flames, some of them actually escaping by their strength. But those who threw them in drag them back again to the pyre. It is not remembered that anybody has even been wounded by the beasts."

ATHENA

Athena is the Olympian goddess of war, the protector of the town and the patroness of women's crafts including wool-working, spinning and weaving. She was generally represented as standing, armed with a spear and shield, wearing a helmet pulled back away from her face and wearing her *aegis*, a pectoral made from the skin of a goat and decorated with a central Gorgon head and edged with snakes.

Pausanias's descriptions and archaeological excavations reveal that Athena's sanctuaries differed topographically from the sanctuaries of Kybele, Artemis and Demeter. Athena's sanctuaries were regularly located in the centre of the town or on the heights of the acropolis¹⁸. These two locations stressed her dual political role of town guardian and benefactor. Her sanctuaries were also generally architecturally developed with a peristyle temple, large altar and subsidiary buildings enclosed in a

¹⁸Amphissa (Pausanias x 38, 5), Argos, Asopos in Lakonia (Pausanias iii 22, 9), Athens, Emporio (Boardman, Greek Emporio), Ilion, Larisa (Pausanias ii 24, 2), Leuktra (Pausanias iii 26, 5), Lindos (Blinkenberg, Lindos I), Old Hermione (Pausanias ii 34, 10), Pheneos (Pausanias viii 14, 4), Sikyon (Pausanias ii 5, 6) and Sparta (Pausanias iii 17, 1-2).

temenos wall, creating sanctuaries worthy of one of the most powerful deities in a *polis*¹⁹.

Small finds and pottery provide only minimal evidence for identifying this goddess. Athena, as an important goddess for women, received the same votive offerings as the other goddesses discussed so far, including spindle whorls, loom weights, jewellery, fibulae, cooking knives, spits and many miniature vessel forms²⁰. She also received the common terracotta figurines which had no intrinsic connections to her cult, including enthroned deities with a high *polos*, standing draped females, worshippers, nude males, dancers and children. Athena, as a goddess of war, received armour and weapons, including arrows, spears, swords and knives, but military and hunting equipment was also dedicated to Artemis and occasionally even to Demeter²¹. The quality of pottery in Athena's sanctuaries, however, differs from that found in Demeter sites. In Athena's sanctuaries, the pottery generally consists of large quantities of good quality wares, both local and imports, which was brought into the sanctuary in order to be dedicated to the goddess²². Demeter, however, generally did not receive large numbers of fine vases as votives, instead her smaller sanctuaries contain masses of domestic wares which accumulated from festival feasting²³.

Votive objects which are invaluable for identifying Athena sites include representations of the goddess herself and miniature terracotta votive shields²⁴. Shields, appropriate for a warrior goddess, have been found Athena sanctuaries in Athens and Italy²⁵. The identification of Athena sanctuaries is often not difficult

¹⁹For example: Athens, the Parthenon. Sanctuary of Athena at Emporio: Boardman, J., 1967. Athena Polias at Priene: Wiegand and Schrader. Athena Lindia and temple of Athena and Zeus Polieus of Ialysos, Rhodes: Blinkenberg, 1915. Dyggve, 1960. *Clara Rhodos* I (1928), 72f.

²⁰Boardman, 1967, artifact catalogue.

²¹Weapons were dedicated to Demeter at her extramural sanctuaries at Cyrene and Knossos.

²²A good example of this is found at Emporio. A fragment of a plate with a suspension hole, decorated with a representation of an armed Athena, was found in the sanctuary. This plate was the first evidence for the identity of the goddess of the sanctuary. It was later substantiated by dedicatory inscriptions on pottery. Other vessels also had holes for suspending and displaying them in the sanctuary, including two cups, phialai mesomphaloi and miniature kalathiskoi. See Boardman, 1967, for further details.

²³Some Demeter sanctuaries, for example Eleusis, did contain fine decorated pottery that may have been dedicated for the intrinsic value of the vase and not for their contents or left after feasting.

²⁴Stillwell, A.N., 216-231, Class XXXVI. The shields are flat and circular with a rounded central boss. Many examples preserve a small loop handle on the back and two small suspension holes close together on one rim.

²⁵Boardman, 1967, 28. Stillwell, A.N., 216-231. Shields are also commonly found in the shrines of Apollo and of heroes.

because she was believed to be involved in the daily running of the town; inscriptions and decrees which mention the goddess by name are common in her sanctuaries.

HERA

Hera is the wife and sister of Zeus, the queen of the gods and the goddess of legal marriage. The sacred marriage of Hera and Zeus was a frequent theme in her worship. Hera appeared mostly in myth connected with Zeus as the vengeful wife or as the vengeful stepmother dealing with all of her husband's infidelities and resulting children. Iconographically, this goddess was one of the least distinctly portrayed personalities. She is shown seated, wearing a *polos*, heavily draped in a peplos and often holding a simple sceptre; all characteristics which can also appear in representations of other goddesses.

The queen of the gods was worshipped throughout the Greek world, but two sanctuaries were preeminent, the Samian and the Argive Heraia²⁶. Her sanctuaries were generally extraurban and well developed, containing a temple, altar and often auxiliary structures (stoa, treasuries, etc.). This goddess had a very strong connection to the temple; some of the earliest and most important temples in Greece were dedicated to her, including: the two cult centres mentioned above, the sanctuary of Hera Akraia in Perachora and her temple in Olympia.²⁷

²⁶Pausanias describes eight of Hera's sanctuaries: Pausanias i 1, 5; ii 29, 1; iii 15, 9; v 17, 1-3; vii 4, 4; vii 5, 4; viii 22, 2; ix 2, 7. The Samian and the Argive Heraia did not become panhellenic cult centres like Demeter's sanctuary at Eleusis, instead they were highly regarded sanctuaries due to their age.

²⁷Burkert, 131.

Samian Heraion: see Pausanias vii 5, 4; Reuther, 1957, Walter, 1965 and Tomlinson. The first temple in the Samian Heraion may be dated in the eighth century or later B.C. This temple was long and narrow with a central row of columns to support the roof beam. It faced the altar which predated the temple. This temple was replaced by a peripteral style temple in the mid seventh century B.C. During this time, the whole sanctuary was also developed with the addition of stoa, treasuries, processional way and refurbished altar. In the sixth century another temple, one of the largest of the Archaic period, was constructed by local architects Rhoikos and Theodoros. This temple was Ionic and dipteral. Construction of the final and grandest phase of this temple was started during the rule of the tyrant Polykrates (538-522 B.C.) but it was never completed. This final temple measured 112.20m by 55.16m, it was also Ionic and dipteral, but with three rows of columns across the front and back.

Argive Heraion: see Tomlinson, 90-92. This sanctuary was situated on terraces. The upper terrace was constructed at an early date, possibly in the eighth century B.C. It was partly natural and partly man-made, supported by a massive retaining wall of large, rough boulders. The terrace surface

The votives offered to this deity are not distinctive. A typical list of dedications includes: female terracotta figurines (enthroned deity with tall *polos*, dancers, standing draped votaries, women holding a bird, a flower or a phiale), votive miniature vessels of all types, items from the lives of women (spindle whorls, loom weights, fibulae, cooking knives) and from the lives of men (tools, weapons). One of Hera's areas of influence was protecting open grazing lands and cattle. This interest is echoed in the presence of votives in the shape of cattle²⁸. Cattle were also sacrificed to the goddess, but unfortunately for the purpose of sanctuary identification, many gods received such sacrifices, including Athena, Demeter²⁹, Artemis and most of the male Olympians³⁰.

Conclusions

Comparison of Kybele, Artemis, Athena and Hera sanctuaries clearly indicates that they often do not differ greatly from each other or from those of Demeter. Topographically, these sanctuaries are found in similar locations. Each goddess had a general *tendency* for her sanctuaries to be located in a specific area -- Kybele and Artemis in wild lands and on the tops of mountains, Athena on the acropolis or near

retains traces of the sanctuary's earliest temple, dating to the first half of the seventh century B.C. It was Doric with six by fourteen columns with a superstructure mud brick and wood. This first temple burned down in 423 B.C. but it was replaced almost immediately in c 420 to 410 B.C. by a another Doric temple situated on the middle terrace. This new temple held a chryselephantine statue of Hera by Polykleitos that was said to rival the statue of Zeus at Olympia. An open courtyard in front of the temple was surrounded by various structures (stoas, peristylar court / banqueting hall, and rectangular structure with three rows of interior columns) that dated from the seventh to the fifth century B.C.

Hera Akraia: see Payne, 1940; Dunbabin, 1962; Plommer and Salviat, 1966; Salmon, 1972. The earliest cult building in this sanctuary was an apsidal structure founded in the early to middle Geometric period. This structure was replaced at least by the sixth c B.C. with a narrow rectangular temple. A large (8m long) altar with an Ionic columnar surround which supported one of the earliest known *baldacchino* was built at the eastern end of the temple. Salmon suggests that a further temple was constructed on the site between the end (collapse?) of the Geometric apsidal temple and its sixth century replacement. There is no archaeological evidence for such a structure, but he argues that this area was always the cult centre, the oracle was located there and so a temple on the site was necessary. It is clear that the area was always in use as dedications are found in the harbour area which date from the late eighth, through the seventh and into the sixth century.

Olympia: see Pausanias v 17, 1-3. Mallwitz, 1966, 310-376. Mallwitz, 1988, 86. The temple of Hera in Olympia was constructed in c 600 B.C. It is a narrow Doric temple with six by sixteen columns, a stone socle and mud brick upper walls. The columns were originally of wood, replaced gradually over the life of the structure with stone columns made in the style of their time.

²⁸Bevan, 88. Numerous bronze oxen or bull figurines were uncovered in both Hera sanctuaries at Perachora and sixty representations of bulls and cows in terracotta, stone and bronze were found in the Samian Heraion. Bull protomes were found in the sanctuaries of Hera at Samos, Argive Heraion, Delian Heraion and at Perachora.

²⁹Bevan, 86. Cattle bones were found in the sanctuaries of Demeter at Knidos and Knossos.

³⁰Bevan, 82-99.

the agora of a town, Hera sanctuaries were extraurban and often associated with Zeus and Demeter near or within a town but separated from inhabited areas -- but none of these locations are mandatory. Any the goddesses could be worshipped in the centre of a town or on its periphery, in rural agrarian areas, in wild and uncultivated territory, in strategic mountain passes or *polis* borders, etc., depending upon the guise of the goddess, and upon local myths and traditions. Pausanias records many instances of sanctuaries located in areas that may have seemed peculiar to his readers, given the identity of the chief deity, but he also records the local myth which provided a reason for these sanctuaries' locations -- it was founded by a hero³¹, it was founded by the deity herself³², it was founded as a thank offering after a battle or other deed³³, or it was founded on the spot where a specific sheep or goat lay down³⁴. The real reason for the location was presumably lost through time.

Since the study of sanctuary topography cannot disentangle the identities of these goddesses, it is necessary to emphasize the significance of votive offerings, pottery and faunal remains. D. Thompson, however, noted that "a deposit of votive offerings, even in a *favissa*, does not usually identify the divinity to whom it is dedicated. The deposit must be large and limited to clearly defined types before it speaks directly of the cult to which it belongs"³⁵. The examination of votive offerings from the sanctuaries of the above five deities clearly reveals that Thompson is correct; votive offerings here likewise cannot unfailingly differentiate among these goddesses especially since they had many similar and even over-lapping spheres of influences.

The study of votive objects, naturally, is not completely valueless. Generic offerings like female terracotta figurines can at least suggest the gender of the deity, and *large numbers* of *diagnostic* artifacts can provide a reasonably secure identification. Diagnostic artifacts include representations of a deity with attributes (armed Athena wearing an *aegis*, Kybele with her lions, Artemis with a bow, quiver of arrows and a hind, Demeter with a head of ripe grain), figurines of votaries carrying objects specific to the deity (dove for Hera, deer for Artemis, piglet for Demeter) and objects that are

³¹Pausanias ii 27, 4; iii 15, 9; x 38, 5.

³²Pausanias ix 17, 1; vii 4, 4; viii 22, 1-2.

³³Pausanias ii 21, 1.

³⁴Pausanias vii 26, 3.

³⁵Thompson, D.B., 1963, 56.

of particular importance to the cult (chthonic and agricultural, weaponry and hunting, etc.).

The total number of specific artifact types can be a very important indicator of site identification. A good example of this is shown by a comparison of the significance of water in the sanctuaries of Artemis at Lousoi, Athena at Emporio and in practically all Demeter sanctuaries, as indicated by the *number* of water-related artifacts³⁶. Small numbers of votive finds indicate that water played at least a minor part in the festivals held at the sanctuaries of Artemis at Lousoi (several fragments of miniature hydriai, *hydrophoroi* and *perirrhanteria*) and Athena at Emporio (three miniature hydriai), but these small numbers can be contrasted against the finds from the Demeter sanctuaries of Abdera (10,000 miniature hydriai in a single deposit) Mytilene, Mount Taygetos, Knossos, Tocra, Cyrene and Acrocorinth (each site contained hundreds of examples of such vessels). Combinations of artifact types are also important, especially combinations of popular votive types. A deity may receive large numbers of one type of artifact, but then either lack or receive other diagnostic materials. The resulting combination of artifacts may then suggest (or rule out) an identity.

A very important and frequently overlooked source of primary diagnostic evidence is the analysis of sacrificial remains. Many of the Greek deities received large numbers of specific sacrificial animals (see Table Ten, A Comparison of Faunal Material from Sanctuaries of Artemis, Athena and Demeter). This is especially evident for Demeter. Piglets were sacrificed in the sanctuaries of many deities at the beginning of a festival to purify the sacred grounds³⁷, resulting in a small scatter of bones across the sanctuary. Pigs of all ages, however, were the paramount sacrifice to Demeter, with as much as 99% of faunal remains consisting of suids. Wild animals are also important signifiers. Kybele and Artemis received many offerings of wild animals -- deer, boar,

³⁶Water was an important element of most cults. It was used before ceremonies to purify the sanctuary (temples, altars, cult paraphernalia, cult statues) and the participants, and water often had an important rôle in the festivals.

³⁷Pausanias v 16, 8 provides a good example of the uses of both pigs and water. "ὅποσα δὲ ἡ ταῖς ἑκκαίδεκα γυναιξὶν ἢ τοῖς ἑλλανοδικοῦσιν Ἡλείων δρᾶν καθέστηκεν, οὐ πρότερον δρῶσι πρὶν ἢ χοίρῳ τε ἐπιτηδείῳ πρὸς καθαρισμὸν καὶ ὕδατι ἀποκαθίρωνται." (trans: "Whatever ritual it is the duty of either the Sixteen Women or the Elean umpires to perform, they do not perform before they have purified themselves with a pig meet for purification and with water.") Schaps, 1991, 208, the temple managers of Delos sacrificed a pig monthly to purify their sanctuaries.

lions -- animals that Demeter as goddess of agriculture and the domesticated world in general almost never received.

Total numbers of artifacts, combinations of artifact types and faunal remains are important, but they must be used in conjunction with comparative material, both panhellenic and local. Votives were influenced by the Greek understanding of their deities, but they were also influenced by the guise of that specific deity, local traditions and preferences, local history and cult changes. Each sanctuary should be compared to known sanctuaries of the same deity in order to see how it fits into a panhellenic scheme and how it compares with local versions of the same.

Table Ten

***Comparison of Faunal Material from Sanctuaries of Artemis, Athena and
Demeter***

Adapted from: Bevan, part ii, 370-482; Ruscillo, 1993, 207 and Ruscillo, 1993, personal communication.

BIRD (BONE OR EGGSHELL)

Artemis:

- Ephesos (Artemision): remains of one cock and one hen.
- Delos (Artemision): bird bones beneath Archaic temple, including a single bone from a crane.
- Cyrene (Temple of Artemis is the sanctuary of Apollo): ostrich egg shells.

Athena:

- Lindos: sixty-nine fragments of ostrich egg-shells.
- Emporio: fragments of ostrich egg-shells.

Demeter:

- Knidos: bones of birds (specific numbers not recorded).
- Knossos: one bird represented.
- Cyrene (Extramural sanctuary of Demeter): bird-bones (numbers not recorded, but "fewer than pig bones").
- Mytilene: bones of birds (species uncertain).

BOAR

Artemis:

- Kalydon (Artemis Laphria): numerous boar tusks found in the sanctuary.
- Lousoi (Artemis Hemerasia): tusks dedicated in the sanctuary.

Athena:

- Lindos: two pieces of tusk pierced for pendants.

Demeter:

- No boar remains reported from Demeter sanctuaries.

CATTLE

Artemis:

- Ephesos (Artemision of Ephesos): cattle-bones discovered beside the altar.
- Delos (Artemision of Delos): bones of oxen and calves beneath the Archaic temple.

Athena:

- Lindos: ox-bones (numbers not recorded).

Demeter:

- Knidos: bones of one small ox.
- Knossos: thirty-three cattle bones or 3% of total bone count.
- Mytilene: Cattle bones accounted for 10.3% of all *unburned* bone found within the sanctuary. No burned cattle bones were found.

DEER (BONES OR ANTLERS)

Artemis:

- Ephesos (Artemision of Ephesos) : Bones of two deer and one gazelle.
- Kalydon (Artemis Laphria): one antler.
- Lousoi (Artemis Hemerasia): several antlers.

Athena:

- Lindos: deer-bone (numbers not recorded).
- Tegea (Athena Alea): one antler.

Demeter:

- Knossos: 0.7% of the total bone count.
- Mytilene: A few unburned Fallow deer bones were found within the sanctuary limits.

DOG

Artemis:

- Ephesos (Artemision of Ephesos): dog-bones found near the altar.

Athena

- No dog-bone reported from Athena sanctuaries.

Demeter:

- Knossos: 1.26% of the total bone count are from dogs.
- Mytilene: A small number of unburned domestic dog bones were found within the sanctuary limits.

FISH

Artemis:

- Delos (Artemision of Delos): shell fish.

Athena:

- Lindos: bones of a single large fish.

Demeter:

- Cyrene (Extramural sanctuary of Demeter): shark's vertebrae.
- Knossos: bones of one fish.
- Mytilene: twenty fish bones, scallops, clams and oyster shells, all burnt.

HARE

Artemis:

- Mt. Kotilon (Artemis Orthasia) : hare bones found in the north temple.

Athena:

- Lindos: small number of hare-bones reported.

Demeter:

- Knossos: bones of one hare.
- Mytilene: small number of unburned bones from European hare found within the sanctuary grounds.

HORSE

Artemis:

- Ephesos (Artemision of Ephesos): bones of one horse at the Archaic altar.
- Kalydon (Artemis Laphria): some bones and teeth of horses.

Demeter:

- Knossos: 0.07% or eight bones of the total belong to horses.
- Mytilene: No horse bones found in the sanctuary.

PIG

Artemis:

- Ephesos (Artemision of Ephesos): pig bones beside the altar.
- Kalapodi (? Artemis Elaphebolia): young pig-bones from an Archaic ash-altar.

Demeter:

- Acrocorinth: suids account for the majority of the bone from the sanctuary.
- Knidos: bones of pigs (numbers not recorded).
- Knossos: eight-hundred pig-bones or 90% of all bones.
- Cyrene: large quantity of pig bone, probably the majority.
- Mytilene: suids accounted for 90% of the burnt bone from the sanctuary.
- Troy (Upper Sanctuary): Burnt pig bones, numbers not specified.

SHEEP/GOAT

* It is often impossible to differentiate goat and sheep bone so many faunal reports discuss these two animals under the single heading ovicaprids.

Artemis:

- Ephesos (Artemision of Ephesos): bones of six sheep found by the altar. Horns of thirty-nine goats and the bones of twenty-one goats.
- Delos (Artemision of Delos): sheep and goat bones found beneath the Archaic temple.
- Kalapodi (? Artemis Elaphebolia): bones of lambs in the early Archaic layer and bones of kids in an Archaic ash-altar.
- Thasos (Artemis Polo): numerous goat bones and horns found in an ash pit.

Athena:

- Lindos: bones of sheep, numbers not specified.

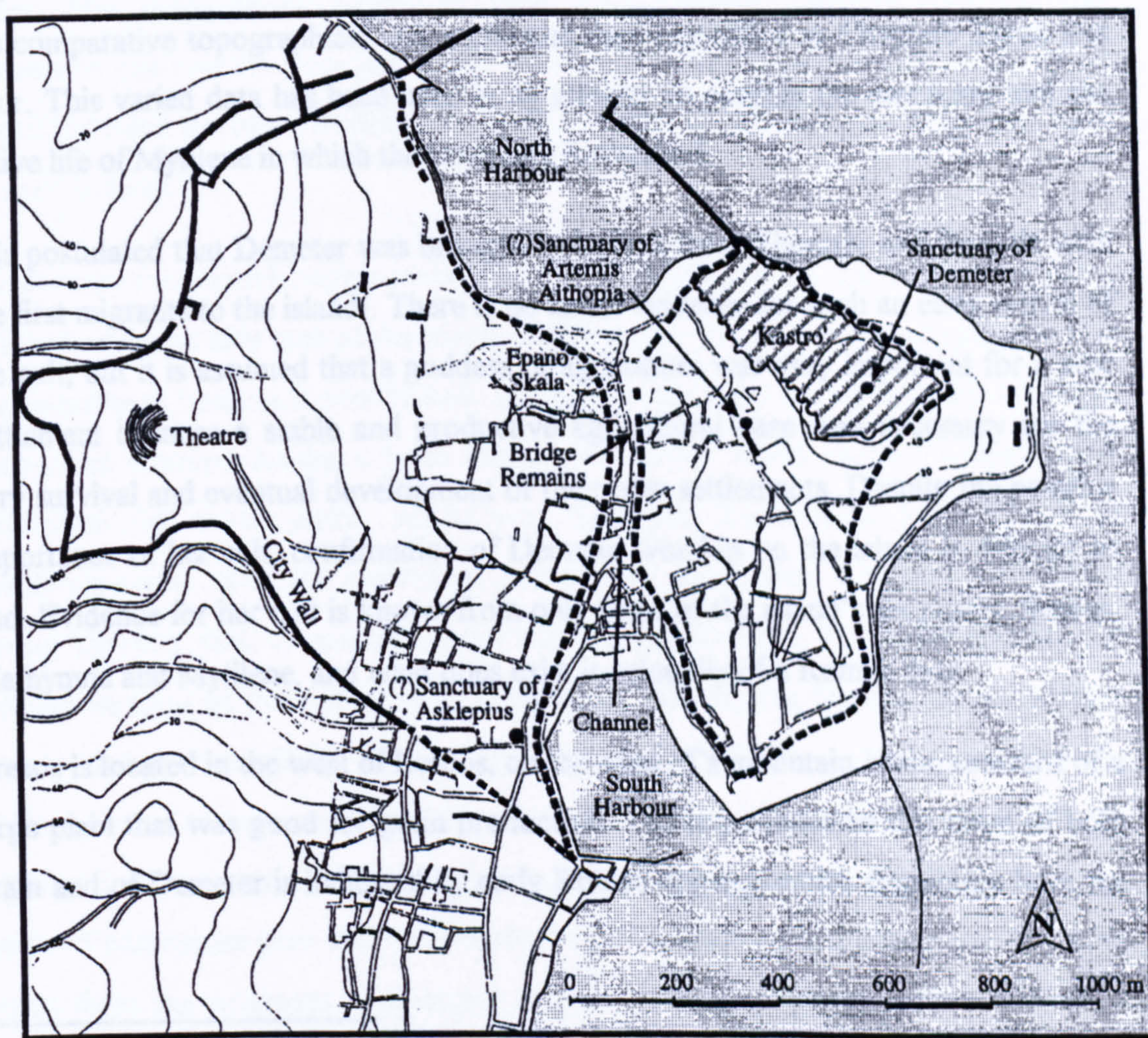
Demeter:

- Knidos: small number of goat horns.
- Knossos: numerous goat bones (numbers not specified).
- Mytilene: juvenile sacrificial sheep/goat (burnt). Sheep/goat accounted for 53% of *unburned* bones found within the sanctuary limits, but bone ratio for sacrificial (i.e. burned) remains is 30:1 pig to sheep/goat.
- Cyrene (Extramural sanctuary of Demeter): bones of sheep (numbers not given, but there were less than pig).
- Troy (Upper Sanctuary): Burnt sheep bones.

Domestic animals, including cow, sheep, goat and pig, were the most common sacrificial offerings to the gods. These animals could be offered to all of the gods, both male and female, but not always in equal numbers. There were some sacrificial prohibitions due to cultic beliefs, for example, Athena rarely received goats and Demeter rarely received cattle or non-domesticates. Some animals were also deemed more appropriate for certain deities; Artemis, as the goddess of the hunt received wild animals, while suid remains at Isthmia, Ephesos and Halieis indicate that pigs were sacrificed to Poseidon, Artemis and Apollo, representations of pigs and actual remains constitute the majority of sacrificial remains in Demeter sanctuaries.

CHAPTER SIX

THE SANCTUARY OF MYTILENE: SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXTS



Mytilene

This chapter returns to the examination of the Demeter sanctuary of Mytilene. Up to this point, only the physical details of various Demeter sanctuaries have been investigated. This broader comparative study and division of the material remains of sanctuaries into general categories is useful for a basic understanding of how the goddess was perceived and worshipped throughout Greece. Such an interpretation, however, has inherent problems because it may be done at the expense of an

individual sanctuary's historical, political, social and even religious contexts. Categorization may only provide hypotheses to test against the excavated material from specific sites; each sanctuary developed in response to the singular needs and history of a *polis* and its people. The aim of this chapter is to place the Demeter sanctuary of Mytilene into its panhellenic and local contexts.

In order to do this, data has been collected from a large number of sources: excavation, coinage, information from other cities on Lesbos, ancient writers, social organization, economy, Mytilenean and Lesbian history and politics, local religion and the comparative topographical and artifactual data assembled in Chapters Three and Four. This varied data has been used in an attempt to conjoin the sanctuary and the active life of Mytilene in which the sanctuary functioned.

It is postulated that Demeter was brought to Lesbos from Thessaly and Boeotia with the first migrants to the island¹. There is no direct evidence for such an early arrival of the cult, but it is assumed that a goddess of agriculture was very important for a new settlement because a stable and productive agricultural base was necessary for the very survival and eventual development of their new settlements. Despite the possible importance of her cult, confirmation of Demeter worship on the island is difficult to find. Evidence for her cult is known from only three of the island's six *poleis*, Eresos, Methymna and Mytilene, and what does exist is primarily of a Roman date.

Eresos is located in the west of Lesbos, on the edge of a mountain chain, seaward of a large plain that was good for grain production. The importance to this town of both grain and of Demeter is indicated by early Roman coinage which frequently bore the

¹Shields, 44. Buchholz, 218. Kern *RE* IV, 2714. Spencer, 1995, 275ff. Greek migrants probably moved to Lesbos over a period of time in a series of 'waves', starting in the PG period (1050 to 900 B.C.). Mytilene and Pyrrha are the only two towns on the island with remains from a late PG date. The earliest known remains at Antissa and Methymna date to the Early to Mid G period (900 to 750 B.C.), while the earliest artifacts from Eresos and Arisbe only date from the Archaic period. Arisbe, however, is problematic because despite the archaeological evidence, it must have been founded earlier because it is mentioned in the *Iliad* 6, 13ff: "Diomedes then slew Axylos Teuthranides from the walled town Arisbe. A rich man and kindly, he befriended all who passed his manor by the road. But none of these could come between him and destruction now, as the Akhaian killed him, killing with him Kalesios, his aide and charioteer, leaving two dead men to be cloaked in earth." It is also important to note that recent excavations at the Artemision at Ephesos indicate that there may have been cult continuity from the Bronze Age at this site (Bammer, 1993). It is therefore possible, although there is no extant evidence, that Demeter was already known in Asia Minor when the Greek migrants arrived.

goddess's portrait or a symbolic reference to her in the form of a head of grain². Athenaeus, in the third century A.D., indicated the quality of the crop produced in the area: "First then, dear Moschus, I will call to mind the gifts of fair-haired Demeter, and do thou lay it to heart. The best that one may get, ay the finest in the world, all cleanly sifted from the rich fruit of barley, grows where the crest of glorious Eresus in Lesbos is washed by the waves. It is whiter than snow from the sky. If it be that the gods eat barley-meal, Hermes must go and buy it from them there. In seven-gated Thebes, too, there is good barley, in Thasos also, and in some other towns; but theirs seems like grape-stones compared with the Lesbian³". Shields suggests that Demeter's cult was the strongest in the western part of Lesbos, the area of the island which provided the best conditions for grain production; her cult may even have been centred in Eresos⁴.

Methymna, the second largest *polis* on Lesbos, is located on the north coast, in a relatively dry and hilly area of the island, facing the Troad. Good agricultural land was important here because it was limited. In order to augment her agricultural holdings, Methymna attacked Arisbe, a town on the north coast of the Gulf of Kalloni which controlled rich fertile plains. Arisbe was destroyed, its citizens enslaved and its farmlands came under the control of Methymna⁵. Methymna too, may have had a strong Demeter cult. A passage in the scholion on Hesiod's *Theogony* reviews the various versions of the abduction of Persephone, stating that "Some say Persephone was carried off from Sicily, but Bacchylides says from Crete, and Orpheus from the regions about Oceanus, and Phanodemus from Attica, and Demades ἐν νάπαις"⁶. "ἐν νάπαις" has been tentatively identified as 'from Nape', a rural area located to the south of Methymna near the *polis* border. This tradition of the abduction may have arisen from the existence of a strong cult in the area⁷. Buchholz, who worked at Methymna, found virtually no evidence of Demeter cult within the town⁸. He assumes

²Mionnet, *Descr.* III, 36, nos. 29-34 and p.37, no. 35.

³Athenaeus iii, 111f-112a.

⁴Shields, 44.

⁵Spencer, 248: the date of Methymna's take-over of Arisbe is not known. It could have been between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C.

⁶Σ. *Theogony*, 914: "...φασιν οἱ μὲν ἐκ Σικελίας, Βακχυλίδης δὲ ἐκ Κρήτης, Ὀρφεὺς ἐκ τῶν Ὀκεανὸν τόπων, Φανόδημος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Δημάιος ἐν νάπαις."

⁷Shields, p.47. Buchholz, 218.

⁸Buchholz, 219 and catalogue number B9, plate 28, f and g. A head from a single female terracotta figurine has been tentatively identified as a copy of a cult statue of Hera or Demeter. Buchholz,

that there was a rural sanctuary located outside the walls, possibly at, or close, to Nape. However, the majority of irrefutable evidence for Demeter's cult at Methymna dates from the Roman period. Coins from the time of Commodus (A.D. 180-192) show on the reverse a portrait head of Demeter or picture the goddess standing between Athena and Dionysos⁹.

Mytilene is located on the east coast of Lesbos, on a narrow strip of land on the outer edge of the Gulf of Yera. A mountain range runs up the centre of the strip, limiting flat agricultural land. Here, the problem of land shortage was overcome by turning to the rich fertile plains just across the strait on coastal Asia Minor. In Mytilene, prior to the excavations on the Kastro, evidence for Demeter cult was limited to a single passage in Longus' pastoral romance¹⁰ and to Roman inscriptional references to the cult of Etephila, identified as Kore-Persephone¹¹. More direct evidence of Demeter worship may be provided by an inscription from the Imperial period. It is restored "Δήμη[τρος καὶ Θεῶν] καρποφόρων καὶ Θεῶν πολυκάρπων καὶ τελεσφόρων"¹². The epithet *Karpophoros* is important because Demeter and Kore were known by this same cult title, οἱ Καρποφόροι (the fruitful or fruit-bearing), in Tegea¹³. Unfortunately, the inscription is problematic; now lost, it was originally published under the heading of "Chian and Mytilenean monuments" and so the original provenience of the inscription is unclear¹⁴. Shields notes that it is at least possible that the inscription was from Lesbos because the epithet *Karpophoros* often occurred in

however, does not place too much emphasis on the figurine because its find place is not securely known and he believes that it may even be a modern forgery.

⁹Mionnet, Suppl. VI, 56, 33.

¹⁰Longus, *Pastoral* IV, 13: "οὗτος ἐλθὼν τῇ πρώτῃ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ θεοῖς ἔθυσεν ὅσοι προεστῶσιν ἀγροικίας, Δήμητρι καὶ Διονύσῳ καὶ Πανὶ καὶ Νύμφαις..."

[“On the first day he [Dionysophanes, owner of the farm] came, he sacrificed to the patron gods of the countryside, Demeter, Dionysus, Pan and the Nymphs...”]

¹¹Shields, 45-46. *IG* XII² 110; 222; 263 and 264(?): these fragmentary inscriptions mention mysteries held for a chthonic deity named Ἐτηφίλας, tentatively identified as Persephone (s.v: Hesychius, Ἐτηφίλας: Περσεφόνη). The inscriptions include names of priestesses, all of whom were from aristocratic families of Mytilene. See below in “Sanctuary Phases and the History of Mytilene: The Roman Sanctuary” for further discussion of the cult.

¹²*IG* XII suppl. 691. Buchholz, 218 “Demeter and of the fruitful gods, both abundant and fulfilment-bringing”

¹³Pausanias viii 53, 7.

¹⁴Shields, 46 and n. 23.

later inscriptions from the island which honoured Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus who was the brother of the later emperor, Claudius¹⁵.

A fragment of a poem by the island's famous poetess Sappho may provide the earliest evidence for Demeter's cult, either in Eresos, Sappho's home town, or in Mytilene. Sappho was born in the late seventh century B.C., approximately one hundred years before the first sparse evidence for Demeter's cult from Mytilene's Kastro, but a tantalizing fragment of one of her poems (fr. 154)¹⁶ refers to nocturnal rites, *possibly* those of the Thesmophoria,

“πλήρης μὲν ἐφαίνεται ἃ σελάννα,
αἱ δ' ὥς περὶ βῶμον ἐστάθησαν [....”.

The discovery of the sanctuary in Mytilene proves that the exiguous quantity of literary and epigraphic evidence for Demeter's worship does not indicate that the cult was unknown or even weak on Lesbos. Neither does the Roman material indicate that the cult was instated during that era; rather it suggests a continuation of an already healthy cult. There is rarely full documentation for Demeter's worship in Greece; even her largest sanctuaries have produced few or no inscriptions¹⁷. Demeter also was not a pan-Lesbian deity who received large communal, monumentalised sanctuaries; instead she was important to the individual well-being of the towns within each *polis*. The goddess was also predominantly worshipped by women, members of society who did not necessarily have the power or financial means to commemorate with architecture, statues and inscriptions.

An important consideration in the study of Mytilene's Demeter sanctuary is its location within the town. As noted in Chapter Three, it was not unusual for Demeter sanctuaries to be situated within the boundaries of a town, but Mytilene's sanctuary is remarkable because it is set on the top of the acropolis. This location is relatively rare,

¹⁵Ibid., 46.

¹⁶Greek Lyric 1 (Loeb), Sappho, fragment 154.

“While the Moon
Shone at the full,
The Women were at their place
Circling the altar [....”

¹⁷Acrocorinth, Athens, the extramural sanctuary at Cyrene, Knossos and Pergamon have produced very few inscriptions. This may be due to the fact that Demeter, although an important deity, was not

but not unique. Megara, Lepreon, Thebes, Kranea and Phlious all had Demeter sanctuaries located on, or near, the height of their acropolis. The acropolis itself was generally believed to be a sacred place, a place where the town's divine patrons lived, and it was a last refuge in times of war. It can be assumed that a sanctuary in such an important location could signify that these individual cities held Demeter in a special honour. Pausanias' descriptions of two of these acropolis sanctuaries provides an insight into their importance; he notes that the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros at Thebes was once the home of Kadmus, the founder of the town, and his descendants and that the sanctuary at Megara was constructed by Kar, the king who received Demeter's mysteries and named the town¹⁸. In both cases, the sanctuaries were believed to be very old, connected with the foundation of the town itself. Demeter also held an unusually strong political role in Thebes. She was called the "possessor of Thebes" and "the protector of the land"¹⁹; town leaders took the auspices at her sanctuary before battles²⁰. Detienne also discerns a further political connection between town and sanctuary at such places as Thebes, Megara and Thasos (where Demeter was worshipped along with the town *patrooi*). He points out that as it was the function of the Thesmophoria to reproduce the town there would have been a close connection between the festival, its location and the political world of men explained in the town's foundation myth. He states that "it is the very purpose of the ritual of the Thesmophoria to ground it in the centre of the town and at the heart of politics... Demeter's domain in some cities is largely hemmed in by politics, to the point of cohabitation..."²¹.

There are, therefore, other instances of acropolis sanctuaries of Demeter having a special meaning within a given town, but it is difficult to discern that meaning at Mytilene without written sources to provide further evidence. It is possible that the

commonly a city patroness and so she was only occasionally mentioned in official *polis* inscriptions, normally in a chthonic role as a guarantor of oaths. See Farnell, 325, n.67.

¹⁸Pausanias ix 16, 5; i 39, 5; i 40, 6.

¹⁹Euripides, *Phoin.* 683-8;

²⁰Pausanias ix 6, 5-6: "When Philip died and the throne of Macedon passed to Alexander, the Thebans contrived to expel their garrison; when they did this the god at once gave warning of their coming destruction, and in the sanctuary of Law-giving Demeter (Thesmophoros) there were portents the direct opposite of the portents before Leuktra: at that time spiders had spun a web of white threads over the doors of the sanctuary; now at the approach of Alexander of Macedon they spun in black."

²¹Detienne, 137.

sanctuary had a mythical connection to the foundation of the town. The first migrants to Mytilene may have originally settled on the acropolis before they quickly spread across the channel. The site, therefore, may have been a traditional location used for the celebration of a fertility festival in early times that simply continued in use²². The sanctuary location may also indicate that Demeter held an unusually high status in this town. This goddess was the agricultural deity *par extraordinaire* and grain was Mytilene's most important crop; it provided food for the population, but it was also the primary source of wealth for Mytilene's aristocracy²³. Grain was the capital that could be stock-piled, traded and sold²⁴. The poet Alcaeus, a contemporary of Sappho, mentions that he possessed wealth inherited from his father and from his grandfather. His wealth would most likely have comprised mostly of farmlands that produced large quantities of grain, freeing him to follow the pursuits of the aristocracy - politics, fighting and education. Cole's theory may also account for the location²⁵. She suggests that Demeter's sanctuaries were located in high places in order to oversee agricultural lands and the sanctuary at Mytilene overlooks coastal Asia Minor where the fertile lands became Mytilene's primary source of grain production from possibly as early as the sixth century B.C.

No inscriptions elucidate the rituals held in Demeter's sanctuary on the acropolis of Mytilene. The lack of hard evidence for specific festivals is a problem, and N. Bookidis, in a similar situation at Acrocorinth, has always resisted in identifying the cult practised there, deeming it unreasonable to assume that the sanctuary housed a particular cult without actual proof²⁶. The sanctuary of Demeter at Mytilene is, however, less complex than that at Acrocorinth, making the evaluation of cult through the archaeological evidence less speculative. Archaeologically, the large, central hearth altar with its associated ash and piglet bone repository, *bothroi*, and the presence of lamps and fine dining wares indicates that the main ritual of the sanctuary

²²There is, however, no evidence for any cult activity on the acropolis before the Archaic period. There is also no evidence of indigenous or Bronze Age use of the area.

²³Grain is no longer a primary crop in modern Mytilene. Vine and grain crops have given way to olive cultivation.

²⁴Garnsey, 6: Famine was rare, but food shortages were common in the Greek world. The upper classes produced their wealth by the ownership of farmlands and the growth of the food which could be sold locally or traded. Surpluses could be sold to those who needed it and imports could be sold at inflated prices on the local market as needed.

²⁵Cole, 1994, 212-213, 215.

²⁶See Chapter Three, n.45.

was chthonic in nature and that it was one that contained nocturnal rites and communal feasting. The most common chthonic Demeter cult was that of Demeter Thesmophoros. What little is known of the Thesmophoria has a strong correlation with the archaeological results at Mytilene. It is, therefore, probable that Demeter was worshipped in this guise on the height of this acropolis.

The Thesmophoria itself was a festival which consisted of both daytime and nocturnal rites. As usual, the majority of the information about the festival comes from Athens, but a large body of inscriptions from Delos adds greatly to the knowledge. In Athens, it was a three day ceremony which ran from the eleventh to the thirteenth of *Pyanopsion*, sowing season. It consisted of secret ceremonies, restricted to women, with the total exclusion of men. Not all women, however, were able to attend. Unmarried girls (i.e. virgins) were barred from attending, as were foreign women. Female slaves were not only banned from participating in the ceremonies, but they were even forbidden to view the events²⁷. A woman had to fulfil two conditions before she could participate in the ritual: she had to be married and her husband had to be a citizen of the *polis*²⁸. Aristophanes calls the participants the Ἀθηναίων εὐγένειαι γυναῖκες, the well-born women of the town²⁹, presumably members of the best families. Her importance was her lawful fertility; it guaranteed the continuance of the town and even the *polis*, both through her participation in the festival to ensure abundant grain (food and wealth) and through her ability to produce legitimate children.

This festival was a time when women ruled themselves, completely escaping from the normal omnipresent power of men. Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* illustrates how the ceremony was governed in Athens³⁰: a female herald proclaimed that the council (boule) had decided that Timoklea would be president, Lysilla would perform the duties of the clerk and that Sostrate would be the orator. The herald then announced

²⁷Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 293-94. Isaeus 6.49-50.

²⁸Isaeus 3, 80; 8, 19-20.

²⁹Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 330.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 372 -276:

“ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ τάδε
τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν Τιμόκλει' ἐπεστιάτει,
Λύσιλλ' ἐγραμμάτευεν, εἶπε Σωστράτη
ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν ἔωθεν τῇ Μέσῃ
τῶν Θεσμοφορίων, ἥ μάλισθ' ἡμῖν σχολή...”

that an assembly would be held on the second day of the Thesmophoria, a time when they had the leisure to deliberate on the fate of Euripides. Aristophanes clearly demonstrates that the Thesmophoria was governed on democratic principles. Councils of female magistrates were chosen annually by the women of the each *deme* of the *polis*, to preside over the Thesmophoria³¹. Family connections played an important part; a woman had a greater chance of being elected to this ruling body if she was from a powerful, influential and wealthy family. This council was a responsible and accountable body which had the duty of organizing and overseeing the events of the festival and ensuring that all rituals were carried out correctly according to tradition. The council also presided over an assembly which usually met on the second day of the festival. This meeting was convened in order to discuss important matters, presumably including plans for the next Thesmophoria³².

During the entire three days and nights of the festival, participants were sequestered in the thesmophorion grounds, living in temporary accommodations or out in the open. The first day of the ritual, the eleventh of Pyanopsion, was called Ἄνοδος, the Ascent, possibly so-called because the celebrants had to ascend to the sanctuary³³, or possibly it was a reference to the day's ritual³⁴. Αἰσχρολογία (mutual insulting) was also practised on this day. This behaviour was also employed in the Stenia³⁵ and during the procession to Eleusis for the Greater Mysteries when the initiates stopped to rest at the Kephisos bridge. It is explained as emulating Iambe/Baubo in her attempt to amuse Demeter and lighten her grief over the abduction of Kore³⁶.

The second day of the festival was called Νηστεία, the Fast. During the daylight hours, the women sat quietly in the sanctuary, fasting and relaxing. The evening of

³¹Isaeus 8, 19-20. Detienne, 138.

³²LSG suppl, 124, 3; LSG 36,10-12 (IG II² 1177). Isaeus 8, 19.

³³Simon, E., 1983, 18.

³⁴Brumfield, 82.

³⁵Simon, E., 1983, 20: In Athens, the Stenia and the Thesmophoria were celebrated from the ninth to the thirteenth of Pyanopsion. The Stenia was celebrated first, on the ninth of Pyanopsion. It is unclear whether this festival was part of the Thesmophoria, or was a separate festival that eventually came to be associated with the Thesmophoria celebrations. It is known that the Stenia was a nocturnal celebration restricted to women. They gathered together, insulted each other and told rude jokes. Simon suggests that the Stenia may be the festival in which piglets, pine cones and cakes were 'thrown down' in preparation for later retrieval during the Thesmophoria.

³⁶Hymn to Demeter 203-5. Brumfield, 81. Brumfield does not believe αἰσχρολογία (mutual insulting) was practised only because of the myth of Iambe/Baubo, but also because the behaviour was believed to have a magical effect on fertility in general.

this second day is the most likely candidate for the important nocturnal ritual, the retrieval of the θέσμοι³⁷, piglet remains, hard dough cakes in the shape of both male and female genitalia, pine cones, and other fertility symbols which were 'thrown down' earlier, possibly during the Stenia or during the Skira³⁸. Women called ἀντλήτριάι (bailers) retrieved the θέσμοι and placed them on two altars, one to Demeter and one to Persephone. The third and final day, called Καλλιγενεία, 'Good Offspring', was a day of feasting, presided over by prominent women of the *demes* and a time when important business was discussed in the women's assembly³⁹. This may also have been the day the *thesmoi* were taken from the altars and mixed with grain. The blessed, extra-potent grain was later mixed with the household grain and planted in the next sowing period, thereby ensuring a good grain yield.

The date of the annual ceremony in Mytilene is not known. This festival was generally timed to coincide with the sowing period, but it could vary from town to town due to tradition or climatic conditions⁴⁰. Mytilene, located further north than Athens can experience the onset of colder, wetter weather sooner than in the south, resulting in an earlier start for the sowing season. If, however, the Thesmophoria was observed in Mytilene early in the Autumn as it was in Athens, the festival could have been held in

³⁷Simon, E., 1983, 19: Nilsson and Deubner claim the θέσμοι, 'the things laid down' are the remains of the pigs, etc. thrown down earlier, and that these gave the name to the festival. Demeter Thesmophoria has often been translated as Law-giving Demeter because from Homer on, the word is used to mean 'laws' or 'ordinance', but Simon states that because the Thesmophoria are older than Homer, Demeter was not named after the idea of law, but after her festival.

³⁸The Skira was held on the twelfth of Skiraphorion (June/July). This festival, like the Proerosia, Chloaia and Thesmophoria, apparently had a primarily agricultural purpose. It was consecrated to Demeter and Kore, though in Athens, Athena and Poseidon may have played a part. The Skiraphoria, besides the public aspect of the ritual (procession) also had secret rites, possibly similar to the Thesmophoria with objects that were 'thrown down and later retrieved'. Deubner, 42, suggests that the objects that were thrown down were the 'thesmoi', the pigs and other objects that were 'retrieved' at the Thesmophoria. Brumfield, 158-161, rejects this notion because if pigs and other sacred charms were thrown down in Skiraphorion, four months later in Pyanopsion when the Thesmophoria was held, the carcasses would have completely rotted away, leaving no residue to mix with the wheat. Sacred objects, possibly 'the skira', may have been 'thrown down' during the Skiraphoria, but it had no connection to the Thesmophoria. Brumfield goes on to suggest this festival, the last Demeter festival of the year in the Attic calendar, may have been concerned with the deposition into storage of harvested grain. In this theory, the 'skira' may have been lime which was 'thrown down' to line underground storage pits and cover over the filled grain pit in order to preserve the wheat from rodents, insects and damp.

³⁹Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 82 - 84.

⁴⁰Schachter, 168, n. 2: Thebes celebrated the Thesmophoria in midsummer, but other cities in Boeotia likely celebrated this festival in the Autumn sowing season in the month *Damastros* which coincided with *Pyanopsion* in Athens. Cole, 202: Delos and Thasos both celebrated the Thesmophoria in late summer, the former in *Metageitnion* and the later in the month after *Hekatombaion*.

the month Φρόρτιος⁴¹, a month that roughly corresponded to *Pyanopsion* in Athens. Assuming that there were organized phratries in Mytilene, the month name suggests that it was during this time that young men were initiated into their respective 'brotherhoods', possibly a very important event for the continuation of the *polis*. It could have been an auspicious time to hold the Thesmophoria, a festival which was also important for the continued survival of the *polis*.

Day One of the festival was the day when the *eugeneis* of Mytilene would have ascended the acropolis and gathered in the sanctuary. Secrecy for the festival could have been easily attained. The sanctuary itself was surrounded by a *temenos* wall, but if a large number of women attended the festival, the modest size of the sanctuary may have precluded any gates from being closed. The acropolis, however, was also probably walled, so the whole area could have been shut and secured from prying eyes. This also would have allowed the women to set up temporary open-air camps or other accommodations (tents or wooden structures) around the area of the sanctuary, outside its *peribolos* wall.

Day Two in Athens consisted of the Fast and the assembly. It can only be assumed that these two activities were held on this day in Mytilene. Activities of this sort leave no physical record. The evening of the second day, however, was also the setting for the nocturnal rites. A multitude of lamps, ranging from miniatures to full-size, attests to the celebration of night time rituals in the sanctuary on the acropolis. All the lamps, including the miniatures, have carbon staining indicating that they were used, but most were burned only once and then deposited. The nocturnal ritual was seemingly the time when the sacred *thesmoi* were retrieved from the *megaron* and placed on two altars, one consecrated to Demeter and one consecrated to Kore-Persephone. There is a problem at Mytilene because it lacks a *megaron*. It is, however, possible that a *megaron*, either man-made or natural, existed elsewhere on the acropolis. Such a feature may exist outside the excavation area, or it could have been destroyed in the extensive renovations that have been undertaken on the acropolis. As for the altars, the *thesmoi* could have been placed on any of those that line the east side of the

⁴¹For calendars from Athens, Mytilene, Eresos and Methymna see below Tables Twelve and Thirteen.

sanctuary. Unfortunately, there is no indication which altars, if any, were sacred to specific deities.

Day-three was the Feast. Abundant sherds of fine, imported, gloss dining wares indicate that feasting was an important element of the ritual in Mytilene. Evidence for communal dining in the sanctuary dates from early on, from at least the fifth century B.C., and lasting through the fourth and early third centuries when the sanctuary was at the height of its popularity. The sanctuary continued to be used in the second century, but a lack of dining wares from this era argues that feasting was no longer an integral part of the ceremonies held on the acropolis. Communal banqueting in the sanctuary, throughout its whole time span, was likely an hypaethral ceremony⁴².

The altars preserve large amounts of floral and faunal materials, providing good evidence for sacrificial practices within the sanctuary. The hearth altar was utilized for two distinct types of sacrifices; bloodless offerings were limited to the main body of the altar where wheat and barley was burned within each of the compartments while blood sacrifices were held in the attached semi-circular exedra. Here, young pigs comprise 99% of the faunal material. These bones give evidence for three types of blood sacrifices:

1. All skeletal portions of the majority of the suids are present, including cranial, trunk and extremities indicating that young pigs were sacrificed and then offered whole to the flames.
2. A significant percentage of the hind portions of the young pigs are missing from the deposit and several preserved vertebrae exhibit butcher marks⁴³. This indicates that a number of piglets were killed, the rear portions removed (for consumption elsewhere?) leaving only the anterior to be burned. Piglets used in practices one and two ranged in age between newly born and two weeks post-partum.
3. The third practice is indicated by the presence of foetal pig remains⁴⁴. No adult pig bone was found in the deposit⁴⁵, implying that a sow was killed, her

⁴²The location of the feasting in Mytilene's sanctuary is problematic. The building on the western side of the sanctuary has been tentatively identified as a dining-hall, however, it is likely a small cult structure. See Chapter Two, "Naos / Dining-hall".

⁴³Ruscillo, 1993, 209 and 1994, personal communication. Sus skeletal portions represented from the ash pit: trunk 31.8%, phalanges 17.2%, cranial 25.4%, anterior extremities 15.2% and posterior extremities 10.4%.

⁴⁴A) Ruscillo, personal communication, February 12, 1992: The details of the suid bones from the ash deposit suggest that 75% of the piglets were under one month post-natal, while the remaining 25% could be two-weeks pre-natal (i.e. foetal).

B) Ruscillo, 1993, 209, n. 9 states that she cannot substantiate the original suggestion of Dr. D. Reece that the bones from the ash pit might be foetal due to the difficulty in identifying between pre-

offspring removed from the womb and burned, while the adult carcass was utilized elsewhere, presumably it was eaten. Pregnant sows were commonly sacrificed to Demeter Thesmophoros⁴⁶ and to Demeter Chlōe⁴⁷.

Small ritual vessels and votive offerings are abundant in the sanctuary of Mytilene. The use of these objects is very difficult to interpret. It is assumed that the ritual vessels had a specific use in the Thesmophoria, but what it was is not known. Ceremonies almost certainly included dances, formalized rites and traditional local mysteries that can never be reconstructed, all of which may have included the use of various ritual vessels. Other offerings, like terracotta figurines and loomweights, may have had little or nothing to do with specific rites. It is usually assumed that these objects were personal offerings, given by votaries as a physical representation of their visit to the sanctuary or participation in a ritual. It is possible that each

and post-natal pig remains. The numbers of possible pre- and post-natal piglets are very difficult to determine because of skeletal shrinkage caused by intense heat. Bones, especially from young animals, shrink a maximum of 25% during burning. There is very little difference, except size, between two-week pre-natal (foetal) animal remains and two-week post-natal piglets. The suids from the Hellenistic ash deposit could all be as old as two-weeks post-natal, with no pre-natal animals represented.

The fact that the skeletons cannot be differentiated does not seem to preclude the presence of foetal pig. The difficulty in separating the pre- and post-natal piglets on this site arises from the fact that no jaw bones were found with intact teeth. Generally, the pattern of tooth eruption is the best guide for the age of very young animals. The most important teeth for the ageing of young pig are the top and bottom canines and the top and bottom third incisors; these teeth erupt from the jaw bone before birth and the other teeth follow at known rates (St. Clair, 1272). Unfortunately, the list of teeth from Mytilene is not specific enough to allow a close ageing of the sample, listing only "37 unerupted incisors" and "225 unerupted molars and pre-molars", instead of stating which of the three incisor or four pre-molar types were found. This list of teeth allows a date range of foetal to three months. The size of the piglet skeletons also does not completely prohibit a pre-natal identification. When the trouble was taken to offer a pregnant sow to Demeter, an expensive offering (see n.53 below: adult pigs cost between twenty to forty drachma, while piglets averaged three drachma), it would seem likely that it would be at a time when the sow was noticeably pregnant and the foetuses were recognisable as piglets, in other words during the last couple of weeks of pregnancy. Pigs gestate young for 114 days (3 months, 3 weeks and 3 days) but two-thirds of the growth of the body takes place in the last month before birth. Visual evidence for the condition of the pregnant sows is supplied by pottery scenes. The fragmentary black-figure dinos by Lydos (Acropolis 607, 560-540 B.C. Beazley ABV 107.1; Rumpf, plates 18-20, especially 19) portrays a procession of men carrying branches and a sacrificial knife, leading a cow, ram or sheep and a pregnant sow. A red-figure loutrophoros (Athens NM Akr. 636, Beazley, ARV² 25/1) also portrays a sacrificial procession leading a pregnant sow (sacrificial deity unknown).

Unfreed, W., faunal analyst, Bison Historical Services, Alberta, personal communication, April 20, 1994.

⁴⁵Ruscillo, 1991, 12 and personal communication 12/02/92.

⁴⁶Schaps, 208. Rolley, 1965, 469: A terracotta figurine type from the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros on Thasos portrays sows with their bellies split open to reveal either foetuses or viscera.

A pregnant sow was sacrificed annually to Demeter Thesmophoros on Delos: ID 290, 88; 372a, 104; 440a, 36; 442a, 200; 444a, 31; 460t, 66.

thesmophoriazousa gave a figurine or other memento upon entering or leaving the sanctuary. It is also possible that the sanctuary was open at other times of the year, for other festivals⁴⁸ or for general visitation, and the small votives (and curse tablets) were personal offerings given at these times.

Social information about who supervised and who attended the festivals at Mytilene is completely lacking. It is, however, possible that the social demographics of the Thesmophoria at Mytilene were comparable to those at Athens⁴⁹, especially as Mytilene was an oligarchy, a political system that stressed the importance of aristocratic families. This was certainly the practice in Mytilene in the Roman era. Late Roman inscriptions from the time of Caracalla (211 - 217 A.D.) list priestesses from a mystery festival (the Thesmophoria ?) of Demeter and Persephone. The women in the list who can be identified are all from principal families⁵⁰. One question to keep in mind, however, is the actual organization of the festival. Detienne stresses the importance of the temporary power of the women of the Thesmophoria; they organized and ran the festival along political lines, mimicking the world of men⁵¹. The women were not only exercising their brief independence, but used this organization as an important symbolic part of the ceremony - the *polis* was 'reproduced' through a ritual that strengthened the fertility of grain (food and wealth) and women (to beget sons, the future citizens of the *polis*), all undertaken in a miniature version of the political world of the *polis* itself. If this political organization of the festival was as important as Detienne believes, it raises interesting questions about the very structure of the festival at Mytilene. Detienne's examples refer to cities with democratic rule⁵². Mytilene was a strong oligarchy, not a democracy; so can it be assumed that the Thesmophoria was conducted in the same fashion as it was at Athens?

Theoretically, if a women needed only to be married to a citizen to attend the Thesmophoria, a peasant women who fulfilled this criterion also had the right to attend the festival, but did she? The rules of participation are not known, especially

⁴⁷Demeter Chlōe at both Marathon and Mykonos received an annual sacrifice of a pregnant sow: Marathon IG II² 1358, b43ff and Mykonos SIG 1024, 11-15.

⁴⁸The Olympic-style altar and the foetal pigs suggest that other festivals may have been celebrated in the sanctuary.

⁴⁹Aristophanes Thesmophoriazousae 82-84

⁵⁰Shields, 46 and nn. 15 to 16. IG XII² 110, 222, 263 and (?)264.

⁵¹Detienne, 138-9.

how the *eugeneis* were defined, but it is likely each women had to bring a sacrificial offering. If a poor woman could bring a bloodless sacrifice of a quantity of wheat or barley, dough figures, fruits, etc., she may have been able to attend, but if the cost of attendance was a blood sacrifice, probably a piglet, or a monetary payment, it may have been prohibitive⁵³. A woman from a poor farming family would also have had to travel to the town. She would have to be able to afford this 'luxury time', extra days beyond the three complete days required for the festival itself. It is also possible that the snobbery of the town *eugenia* may have caused an insurmountable barrier to the participation in the festival by a non-aristocratic female. A fragment by Sappho gives a glimpse into the feelings of a upper class woman for her lower class sister,

“τίς δ' ἀγοροῖωτις θέλγει νόον...
ἀγοροῖωτιν ἐπεμμένα στόλαν...
οὐκ ἐπισταμένα τὰ βράκε' ἔλκην ἐπὶ τῶν σφύρων; ”⁵⁴

The poetess may only be railing against the country girl because she is the cause of a rift between Sappho and Andromeda, the person to whom the poem is addressed, but there is also a deep scorn displayed for the woman. She is poor and uneducated and clearly not worthy of interest by a person of high standing.

Poorer women of the *polis* society may not have been debarred from the Thesmophoria altogether. Other *demes* in Attica besides Athens held their own Thesmophoria in various towns throughout the *polis*, for example, at Piraeus, Eleusis and Halimous⁵⁵. It is possible that this happened in Mytilene as well. The Thesmophoria in Mytilene may have been an official event, possibly run for the good

⁵²Detienne, 138.

⁵³Schaps, 208-209 and nn.10 to 12. Reger, 1994, 145-152. *IG* XI 204.48, 287A.69. *ID* 290.88, 372A.104, 440A.36, 442A.200, 444A.31, 460t.66. Inscriptions from Delos list the average price for a piglet for the Thesmophoria as costing between three and four drachmas. A pregnant sow for sacrifice at the Thesmophoria generally cost thirty drachmas, while a gilt averaged twenty drachmas. *IG* XI 204, 48; 287a, 69. *ID* 290, 88; 372a, 104; 440a, 36; 442a, 200; 444a, 31; 460t, 66.

⁵⁴*Greek Lyric* 1 (Loeb) Fr. 57:

“And what country girl beguiles your mind...
dressed in country garb... not knowing how to
pull her rags over her ankles?”

⁵⁵Cole, 203. Athens: Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousae*. Piraeus: *IG* II² 573b; 1059; 1177. Eleusis: Clinton, in Hägg, Marinatos and Nordquist, 72. Kolia: Plutarch, *Solon* 8. Halimous: Pausanias i 31, 1.

of the entire *polis*, but it is also probable that individual farming communities within this *polis* had their own Thesmophoria, or an equivalent communal mystery ritual. These could have been simple hypaethral ceremonies requiring little in the way of religious architecture.

The cult and sanctuary of Demeter in Mytilene played an important role in the town, but it was not a grand sanctuary despite its location in one of the most prominent locations of the town. The sanctuary was instead, modest in size, poorly furnished with buildings, with most care spent on the altars. Temples and monumentalised sanctuaries were built on Lesbos⁵⁶ and Mytilene itself was a wealthy, architecturally developed town⁵⁷; so why was this sanctuary not aggrandized? As mentioned above, Homer Thompson suggests that men, the holders and controllers of wealth, did not bother to spend their money on a sanctuary from which they were excluded⁵⁸. This theory may have credence in Athens where women lived very marginal lives, but the well-born women of Lesbos, at least in the Archaic period, enjoyed a higher standard of living; they were more powerful and they were educated. It seems likely that the lack of sanctuary development in Mytilene was due more to cultic tradition than to

⁵⁶Koldewey, Kontis and Betancourt (82-88) provide good summary descriptions of the sanctuary sites of Lesbos:

Klopedi: an important sanctuary located in the interior of the island on a small plateau. Remains of two temples have been excavated, an older structure of the late seventh or early sixth century B.C. and a later temple from c the last third of the sixth century. The older temple consisted of a *cella*, *pronaos* and back room and had a peristyle and superstructure of wood. The second temple consists of a *cella* with a stone peristyle (eight by seventeen columns) of Aeolic columns that supported a wooden entablature. An interior foundation may have supported another (wooden) colonnade lining inside of the *cella*. A large statue base (4.20m square) is located against the western wall, facing the entrance.

Messa: a sanctuary with an Ionic temple located near the centre of the island on the Gulf of Kalloni. This may have been a pan-Lesbos sanctuary dedicated to Zeus, Hera and Dionysos.

Mytilene: fragments of re-used archaic Ionic and Doric stone (andesite) columns and bases were found among the bedrock spurs on the acropolis. The fragments may have come from a composite temple / structure.

Vatera: small sanctuary with a first century B.C. Doric temple dedicated to Dionysos.

⁵⁷Mytilene contained a theatre with marble seats (converted to a Roman groundplan in c 55 B.C.), two harbours, a small protected south harbour for the fleet that could be closed by a large chain, and a mercantile south harbour that probably boasted elaborate harbour works and warehouses to deal with trade goods (the remains of a large Hellenistic stoa has been uncovered in the area), sanctuaries including architectural fragments from of a sixth century temple from the acropolis, traces of a sanctuary to Asklepios within the town walls and inscriptional evidence for an extramural sanctuary to Apollo situated close to the north-west town gate and wealthy housing (much of the preserved housing dates from the Roman period, but pottery and tombs indicate that the area was in use from the PG period), all enclosed by a long town wall of Lesbian masonry (originally constructed in the fifth century).

⁵⁸Thompson, H., 1936, 187.

sex discrimination. Modest Demeter sanctuaries with small cult buildings are common in this area of the eastern Aegean, including Priene, Iasos and Miletos. The Greeks of this area may have simply believed that Demeter, as a goddess of agriculture and fertility, only required limited architecture.

The absence of a temple, stoas, theatral areas and other architecture in Mytilene also does not mean that Demeter's sanctuary was necessarily poor. Sappho describes a sanctuary of Aphrodite that Page assumes was a real location⁵⁹. This sanctuary admittedly had a temple, but it also was a place sweet with apple trees, rose gardens, cold running water and altars with offerings of fragrant expensive incense. Golden chalices were used to serve 'nectar' at festivities. The cult was wealthy and sumptuous in its surroundings, in its offerings and in its ritual vessels. Mytilene's sanctuary finds are sparse because of the nearly complete destruction of the site and any 'golden chalices' would have long been removed from the site. The artifacts that did survive, mostly *ex-voto* deposits and early materials close lying to bedrock, suggest that here too, wealth may not have been spared in the celebration of the ceremonies. The majority of the feasting vessels were finewares, top quality ceramic imports from Attica and Asia Minor; only storage vessels and those used for food preparation were poorer local products.

An important concern when examining the cult of Demeter in Mytilene is the goddess's relationship with Kybele, an analogous fertility goddess whose worship

⁵⁹ Page, Fr. 2:

4 "δεῦρό μ' ἐκ Κρήτας ἐπὶ τόνδ'ε ναῖον
ἀγνον, ὅππ'αι τοι] χάριεν μὲν ἄλσος
μαλί[αν], βῶμοι δὲ τεθυμιάμενοι
[λι]βανώται·

"Hither to me from Crete, to this holy temple,
where is your pleasant grove of apple trees,
and altars fragrant with smoke of frankincense;

8 ἐν δ' ὕδαρ ψυχρον κελάδει δι' ὕσδων
μαλίνων, βρόδοισι δὲ παῖς ὁ χώρος
ἐσκίαστ', αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων
κῶμα καταίρει·

Therein cold water babbles through apple-branches,
and the place is all shadowy with roses,
and from the quivering leaves comes slumber down;

12 ἐν δὲ λείμων ἱππόβοτος τέθαλεν
ἡρίνοισιν ἄνθεσιν, αἱ δ' ἄηται
μέλλιχα πνέοισιν[
[]

Therein a meadow, where horses pasture, blossoms
with
flowers of spring, and gently blow the breezes...

16 ἔνθα δὴ συ....(.) ἔλοισα Κύπρι
χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβρω
ὀμμεμείχμενον θαλίαισι νέκταρ
οἶνοχόαισον

There, Cyrian goddess, take... and pour
gracefully in golden chalices nectar that is mingled
with our festivity..."

originated in Phrygia⁶⁰. This goddess was already an old and established deity in Asia Minor when the Greeks came into contact with the east, first in the Mycenaean period in the process of trading and then again later when the area was colonized. The Greeks adopted and hellenised Kybele, taking her cult with them as they moved through the Mediterranean world. Kybele generally remained an independent deity, but she was often merged with Mediterranean animal and fertility goddesses like Potnia Theron⁶¹. Syncretism also occurred with the Olympian deities Artemis, Aphrodite, Rhea and more importantly for the cult in Mytilene, with Demeter.

It is thought that Demeter cult in the Eastern Mediterranean was open to influence from Kybele. This influence is thought to be caused by the close proximity of Kybele's homeland. Evidence for such influence may be preserved in Greek cities in Asia Minor - an inscription from Smyrna records a mystery for "the great goddess of the city, Demeter Thesmophoros"⁶². The term 'great goddess' was the most common epithet for Kybele, not one generally used for Demeter. It indicates that in Smyrna Demeter could have inherited aspects of her cult from Kybele⁶³. Troy too, may have retained an oriental influence. D. Thompson states "We might suggest that the two altars in the Lower Sanctuary at Ilion were dedicated to Demeter and her daughter. In the Upper Sanctuary ...the "ash-altar" presumably belonged to Kybele.... We need not regard either goddess, however, as necessarily the exact counterpart of her sister of the Greek mainland... It is only natural that in the homeland of the Great Mother more Oriental practices and rituals should survive, to which the Greek colonists assimilated their own deities. We may therefore suppose that our sanctuaries served Demeter, Kore and Kybele in whatever form they took in Ilion."⁶⁴

⁶⁰See Chapter Five, n.1.

⁶¹Naumann, 101. The Potnia Theron, or Mistress of all Animals, was not an original Phrygian aspect of Kybele, but one that was added by the Greeks. The Phrygian goddess was originally the Mistress of Lions. Interestingly, the Potnia Theron concept of the goddess then in turn influenced the goddess in Phrygia and Lydia where occasionally Animal Mistresses were associated with the mother goddess and called 'Kybele'. Kybele in Greece was traditionally portrayed as Mistress of Lions, goddess of wild places (mountains), nature and a chthonic fertility goddess. She had many cultic similarities to Demeter worship, including mysteries celebrated by women and nocturnal rituals. She also had many differences, including the presence of a paramour Attis, frenzied rites during which men castrated themselves and became her priests, and she was a fertility goddess of untamed lands and animals, not cultivated grains.

⁶²IyS II, 1, 655. "σύνοδος τῶν μυστῶν τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς πρὸ πόλεως Θεσμοφόρου Διμήτρος"

⁶³Gasparro, 1985, 72.

⁶⁴Thompson, D.B., 1963, 59-60.

Demeter's cult on Mytilene would ostensibly be a likely candidate for the preservation of customs or practices transmitted from Kybele worship; the Aeolians were traditionally the earliest of the Greek settlers in the Eastern Aegean, and Mytilene town is one of the earliest archaeologically attested settlements. It is possible that Kybele's cult, or a related cult, was in place when the Greeks arrived on Lesbos because the original inhabitants belonged to the same culture group as mainland north-west Asia Minor⁶⁵. It is also known that these original peoples had a lasting influence on the Lesbian Greeks, seen especially in the non-Greek place-names on the island, and possibly in the importance of goddesses in general in the local pantheons⁶⁶. Lesbos is also located in a geographic area where sanctuaries and artifacts indicate that Kybele's cult was strong and important. Troy and Pergamon, two of the island's closest neighbours, even had important centres of Kybele's worship⁶⁷. Two questions must therefore be examined: Is there evidence for Kybele's cult in the sanctuary in Mytilene? Was there syncretism between Kybele and Demeter, resulting in a deity who would not be recognised on the mainland of Greece?

Because of the lack of written sources, these questions can only be answered on the basis of an examination of the artifacts from the sanctuary on the Kastro and from comparanda. Firstly, Kybele was certainly known in Mytilene. The most obvious evidence of her presence is the discovery of artifacts in Mytilene's Demeter sanctuary itself. Ten fragmentary terracotta figurines depicting Kybele seated on a throne with lion arm-rests, several examples of female arms and hands, each holding a tympanum, terracotta plaques representing a *naiskos* each with a central apotropaic eye⁶⁸, the

⁶⁵Kondis, 5-8. For information about early Lesbos see: Lamb, W., 1936, Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos; BSA 30 (1930/31) 1ff; BSA 31 (1930/31) 148ff; BSA 46 (1951) 75ff.

⁶⁶Kondis, 15- 16: the Lesbians worshipped a large number of goddesses, many of them known only from Lesbos.

⁶⁷Evidence for Kybele's cult is found in the following locations:

CCCA I *Asia Minor*, and II *Graecia atque Insulae*:

Troad and Mysia: Abydus, Adramyttium, Çanakkale, Colonnæ, Cyzicus, Gargara, Ilium, Lampsacus, Neandria, Pergamon (Pergamon town, sanctuary at Mamurt Kale and sanctuary at Kapıkaya).

Aeolis and Ionia: Clazomenae, Colophon, Kyme, Didyma, Ephesos, Erythrai, Larisa ad Hermum, Miletos, Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Myrina, Notium, Phocaea, Priene, Smyrna.

Caria: Aphrodisias, Halikarnassos, Iasos, Tralles.

Lycia: Telmessus, Xanthus.

Eastern Aegean islands: Calymna, Chios, Imbros, Kos, Lesbos (Eresos, Methymna, Mytilene), Rhodes (Lindos, Camirus) Samos, Samothrace, Thasos, Tenos.

⁶⁸Kybele's sanctuaries were often represented in terracotta by a small temple-shaped plaque with a frontal view of the goddess in her traditional pose (enthroned with lions and wearing a *polos*) filling the central area of a *naiskos*. At Mytilene, disembodied, apotropaic eyes, symbols of a deity's

plaster lower body (head missing) of a crouching animal, possibly a lion and a single coarse roof tile with a graffito 'Metroon' have been brought to light during the ten years of excavation in the sanctuary. It is interesting that this small number of artifacts is easily identifiable as belonging to the worship of Kybele. There is no blurring of lines between the symbolism of Kybele and Demeter; these artifacts clearly refer to Kybele despite the fact that they were deposited within Demeter's sanctuary. The practice of cross-offering votives was common and even Eleusis, the centre of Demeter's worship, has a significant number of Kybele artifacts⁶⁹. It is also important to bear in mind that Kybele may have had her own sanctuary in Mytilene, distinct from Demeter, that likely continued in a different location after the Archaic period⁷⁰.

Secondly, evidence from the sanctuary, throughout the duration of the site, does not indicate that syncretism of Kybele and Demeter took place in Mytilene. Demeter did not 'take over' the sanctuary from another deity⁷¹. Artifactual evidence indicates that Demeter's worship began on the Kastro possibly as early as the late sixth century B.C. and that key rituals, probably including the Thesmophoria, were already practised. The artifacts (votive materials, pottery, floral and faunal remains) also do not differ greatly, allowing for some local preferences, from those found in Demeter sanctuaries throughout the Greek world. Lacking epigraphic or other written evidence, is it safe to assume that just because Mytilene is located in the eastern Greek world, all the similar and familiar artifacts have different meanings from those found elsewhere in the Greek sphere?

It is indeed possible, as D. Thompson assumes at Troy, that Demeter assumed some aspects of Kybele or another unknown fertility deity, which appeared in daily beliefs or in the Thesmophoria. A counter-influence from mainland Greece, however, must also be taken into consideration. Mytilene, as a naval and mercantile power in her own right, was frequently in contact, both antagonistic and peaceful, with Athens. Mytilene came into early conflict with Athens over the control of Sigeum, an argument that continued into the time of Peisistratid rule. Mytilene was also a member of the Delian

chthonic power, have seemingly taken the place of the goddess. It is, however, also possible that these eye-plaques were dedications to Demeter; small numbers of the gold and silver plaques from the Demeter sanctuary in Mesembria also portrayed disembodied eyes.

⁶⁹For a discussion of cross-offerings see Chapter Four.

⁷⁰See Chapter Five, n. 4.

League and the Second Athenian Confederacy, both of which were controlled and influenced by Athens. Athens, in a programme started by Peisistratos, actively promoted Demeter's cult as a political propaganda tool to promote unity at home and in her empire and possibly to regularize trade, especially in grain. Mytilene's Demeter, therefore, doubtlessly had local festive traditions and myth, but her sanctuary and votive artifacts also show that she would also have been easily recognised as the Demeter known in Mainland Greece.

SANCTUARY PHASES AND THE HISTORY OF MYTILENE

The sanctuary in Mytilene was in use from at least the Late Archaic period down into the Roman period, a span of approximately five hundred years. During this time, the sanctuary underwent distinct periods of waxing and waning popularity. The reasons for the rise and fall of the sanctuary's fortunes are difficult to ascertain without written sources, but an examination of the history of the periods involved may help account for these phases.

Lesbos played an disproportionately large role in Greek history. The island was under the control of successive rulers; the list of invaders and conquerors reads like the "Who's Who" of the Greek world. Lesbos' importance stems mainly from its size and geographical location and from its early development into a power of its own right. The island is the third largest in the Aegean. It is very fertile, in ancient times growing large grain crops and vines. Even more important than its size, the island is perfectly placed in the north-east Aegean and close to Asia Minor, as a good base to oversee the entrance to the Hellespont and to be a vital link in both north-south and east-west trade routes. Lesbos was invaded numerous times by powers who wanted either to gain a secure position in Asia Minor or a secure jumping-off place to invade Greece, including the Persians, Alexander the Great, the Seleucids, Ptolemies and Antigonids

⁷¹See n. 22.

in the battles of the successors after the death of Alexander, Mithridates king of Pontus and the Romans.

Lesbos was also important because it was a strategically located island allowing Mytilene to develop a commanding naval force by the mid seventh century B.C.⁷² This strength enabled Mytilene to found a series of subject cities in the Troad and to control directly the vitally important fertile agricultural land opposite the town on the coast of Asia Minor. When Athens became powerful, gaining sea supremacy and founding the Delian Confederacy, Mytilene, as a member, was for a long time treated with respect and given more freedom than the average members of the leagues. Athens followed a policy of autonomy and non-interference in Mytilene's political system, leaving the town with oligarchic rule rather than imposing democracy on the *polis*⁷³. Athens may have followed this policy in order to keep the various cities on Lesbos happy, especially Mytilene, to check the threat of the potential power of a unified Lesbos.

The Archaic Sanctuary

The Archaic period in Mytilene was a time of great commercial prosperity. Agriculture, colonial expansion and trade created a *polis* where the aristocratic class lived in wealth and luxury, dedicating most of their time to the pursuits deemed worthy of the higher classes - education, warfare and most importantly, politics. Political unrest was a characteristic of Mytilene in the Archaic period. The *genos* Penthilidai had a 'βασιλική δυναστεία' in Mytilene and the other great families of the day did not necessarily agree that this family should rule. Successive attempted coups finally ended with the election of Pittakos in 590 B.C. as *aesymnetes*. In external politics, two major events took place. Firstly, Mytilene went to war with Athens over the control of Sigeum, a Mytilenean colony near the mouth of the Hellespont. Athens desired the town in order to secure access to the Black Sea. These two cities squabbled over Sigeum until the late sixth century. Secondly, in 546 - 541 B.C., Sardis came under siege by the Persians and was eventually defeated. The fall of Sardis resulted in the ascendancy of the Persians as Lesbos' eastern neighbours. The

⁷²Mason, 228. Aelian *Varia Historia* VII, 15.

⁷³For the relationships between Athens and Mytilene in the Delian Confederacy see: Quinn, 24ff.

power of the Persians grew steadily and in 527 B.C., Mytilene came under Persian dominance, ruled by successive Persian-backed tyrants.

The Archaic period is the era when Mytilene may have laid claim to the later Μυτιληναιῶν αἰγιαλός or ἀκταῖαι πόλεις, the agricultural lands immediately opposite on the coast of Asia Minor⁷⁴. The *polis* of Mytilene was situated in a mountainous area of the island and arable land was limited. Methymna, also with limited farmlands, solved her problem by expropriating the good lands of her neighbour; Mytilene did not have such an easy option. This land was settled with κῶμαι⁷⁵- scattered and small, dependent, unwalled villages which were owned directly by aristocratic citizens of Mytilene. All crop surpluses produced on these land were sold on the local Lesbian market, or traded. These surpluses would have provided a crucial source of food for an ever-growing population in Mytilene and a significant source of wealth for the upper classes.

A few artifacts found on the Kastro indicate that this specific sanctuary was in use by the end of the sixth century B.C.⁷⁶ The establishment of the sanctuary in this location, along with the possible acquisition of the Μυτιληναιῶν αἰγιαλός, may indicate that the town was apprehensive about providing sufficient food for its increasing population and was seeking divine assistance, or that the aristocratic families were celebrating their new land acquisitions in Asia Minor and asking Demeter's help to secure its fecundity. The growth of the Persian threat may also have created worries about the existence of the *polis* itself, resulting in the increased importance, or even the establishment in this location of one of the most important *polis* cults, the Thesmophoria⁷⁷.

⁷⁴Mason, 227, Kondis, 58, Spencer, 65. There are no references to these agricultural lands until the fourth century B.C., but Kondis believes that the land was claimed early on in the history of Mytilene, possibly in the Archaic period, or even earlier. This territory included the lands from Koryphantis in the north (generally located on the coast across from the island of Nasos) and into the Kaikos Plain in the south.

⁷⁵Strabo xiii 1, 51.

⁷⁶It is always possible that the cult existed in Mytilene before that date, either at a different location or on the same site, but all earlier traces have been lost.

⁷⁷There were *no* faunal remains found that can be attributed to the Archaic period of the sanctuary. The absence of guid remains may indicate that the Thesmophoria was not as yet held in this sanctuary or it may be accounted for by the very poor state of preservation of all materials from this early date.

The Classical Sanctuary

In the first quarter of the fifth century, Lesbos remained under Persian control. Mytilene participated in the Ionian Revolt of 499 B.C. against the Persians, but came under their control again when the revolt was crushed and the participants were brutally punished. Herodotus states that the islands Chios, Lesbos and Tenedos, once recaptured, were all subject to a 'drag-net', a process by which soldiers joined hands, supposedly creating a human-chain that spanned the island, and then they walked across the land, hunting everybody out for punishment. The Persians evidently also severely punished the Ionian cities that had revolted by gathering all good-looking girls to be sent to the court of King Darius, gathering and castrating all good-looking boys to make eunuchs to serve the King in Persia, and by razing all structures, including houses and temples⁷⁸. Herodotus does not mention if these threats were also carried out against the island cities and their cities razed.

Mytilene threw off Persian oppression in 478 B.C., and joined the Delian Confederacy. The *polis* was a well treated and respected member of the Confederacy. Eventually, however, as the friction between Sparta and Athens grew in the prelude to the Peloponnesian War, Mytilene began to have dreams of expanding her control to all of Lesbos. In preparation for a revolt from the Confederacy, Mytilene initiated the synoikism of the smaller *poleis*; the people of Antissa, Pyrrha and Eresos, willing or not, became citizens of Mytilene. Methymna, fearful of Mytilene's growing power, informed Athens of the plan in 430 B.C. Athens, at war with Sparta and suffering from the plague in the town, first attempted to avoid a conflict, but Mytilene refused to agree to conditions (surrender of fleet and demolition of town walls) and so in 428 B.C., Athens sent ships in to quell the revolt⁷⁹. The war with Athens lasted until 427 B.C., when Mytilene was forced to capitulate. Athens punished Mytilene for the revolt. Originally, the Ekklesia in Athens called for all the adult males to be put to death and all the women and children to be sold into slavery, but this order was rescinded at the last moment. Instead, Athens only executed the men believed to be responsible for the planning of the revolt (approximately one thousand men), pulled

⁷⁸Herodotus vi, 31.

⁷⁹Methymna, Imbros and Lemnos also supplied ships for the Athenian fleet. Athens and the *poleis* of the Aeolian area feared that Mytilene could develop into a large and uncontrollable power.

down the fortifications of the town, divided the lands (except for that of loyal Methymna) into lots for Athenian cleruchs and took control of all Mytilene's cities on mainland Asia Minor.

Mytilene and the smaller *poleis* regained some autonomy by 424 B.C. when the Athenian cleruchs left the island.⁸⁰ The *polis* remained nominally under Athenian control until 412 B.C. when she again revolted. Athens regained control in 411 B.C. Mytilene then remained under Athenian control until 406 B.C. when it fell to the Spartans.

Artifacts of the Classical period from Demeter's sanctuary on the Kastro date primarily from the last half or third of the fifth century. The assemblage includes terracotta figurines of *hydrophoroi* and Attic black gloss feasting wares. These dining wares indicate that the Thesmophoria, even if not observed on the site before this time, was now being celebrated. The growing self-confidence of the citizen body of Mytilene due to the overthrow of Persian rule and then increasing during the preparations for her revolt from Athens, could account for the inception of the new cult, or the increased importance of an already established town Thesmophoria.

The Sanctuary in the Late Fourth to mid Third Centuries

Spartan control of Mytilene ended early in the fourth century. Mytilene allied herself with Athens, joining the Second Athenian League in 378/7, remaining a member until 354 B.C. This is the second period in which Mytilene may have laid claim to the agricultural lands on coastal of Asia Minor. The *polis* had lost control of her Asia Minor holdings in 427 B.C. when Athens crushed her attempted revolt from the Delian Confederacy. By the late fourth century, Mytilene may have been fearing food shortages, or possibly even experiencing actual shortages. The Μυτιληναιῶν αἰγιαλός would have supplied ample agricultural surpluses to feed the *polis* and to provide a new source of wealth.

⁸⁰Quinn, nn. 58 and 63: the cleruchs left Lesbos by c 424 B.C., but they did not give up their interests on the island. The citizens of Antissa, Eresos, Pyrrha and Mytilene still had to pay rent to their absentee landlords. Lesbos was granted autonomy upon the departure of the cleruchs, but this probably only entitled each *polis* the freedom to chose its own constitution.

The second half of the fourth century saw the growing power of Macedonia. By the late fourth century, Greece had been invaded by King Philip and in 334 B.C., Alexander, king after his father's assassination, turned his attention to empire-building in Asia Minor. The Persians, in an attempt to create a strong outpost to hinder Alexander's advance, attacked Lesbos. Their forces razed and then occupied a large part of the island, but Mytilene was able to hold off the Persians and withstand a siege of the town. Alexander crossed the Hellespont in 334 B.C., defeating and driving back the Persians as he advanced. Lesbos quickly allied herself with Macedon and lived essentially at peace until the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. Alexander's death precipitated a world of constant warfare as his successors carved up his empire. During these wars, Lesbos changed hands at frequent intervals, belonging in turn to Macedonia, to the Seleucids and to the Ptolemies.

In Mytilene, the Demeter sanctuary came to the height of its popularity during the late fourth century, lasting into the middle of the third century B.C. The *oikos* or dining-hall was standing, at least five of the altars were in use and copious amounts of feasting wares indicate that the Thesmophoria was thriving. Demeter's popularity may have been due to the acquisition of the Μυτιληναιῶν αἰγιαλός and the accompanying agricultural-based wealth or it may have been due to the *relative* peace Mytilene enjoyed during this time period. The Greek world in general was chaotic with the growth of Macedonia and the subsequent Wars of the Successors, but for most of the late fourth and early third centuries Mytilene was left alone, under her own control or under the control of a tyrant backed by her current rulers. The big powers were busy fighting each other, leaving *poleis* basically undisturbed as long as they behaved themselves and paid their taxes.

The Sanctuary in the Late Third and Second Centuries

Wars and unsettled conditions continued through the late third and second centuries as the three great Hellenistic empires became established, with the Antigonids in Macedon, the Seleucids in Syria, Babylonia and in lands further to the east and the Ptolemies in Egypt and Cyrenaica. These new empires then proceeded to squabble amongst themselves, fighting to expand their lands and maintain strong power bases. Peace was not attained until 30 B.C. when the Romans finally annexed Egypt and made it a province of the steadily growing Roman empire.

The uncertainties of this period may be reflected in the sanctuary of Demeter in Mytilene by the late third and second centuries. Artifacts indicate that it was a period of cultic change and a time when, in this sanctuary at least, the popularity of Demeter Thesmophoros was in decline. The foremost indication of this cultic change is the sudden disappearance of feasting wares from the archaeological record. This implies that communal dining, a ritual observed in this sanctuary since the Classical period, came to an end at this time. In conjunction with this, the number of terracotta figurines, although always present in small numbers, suddenly increased dramatically; all of the large *ex-voto* figurine deposits date from this period. Ritual dining, therefore, seems to have been replaced by the dedication of small, individual and more personal offerings. Architecture also shows that the sanctuary was in decline. One of the figurine deposits was discovered on top of a cross-wall of the *oikos*, clearly establishing that this structure was no longer standing. The people of Mytilene either had no interest in rebuilding the structure or there was not enough money to finance such an operation. The sanctuary was not, however, completely out of favour; Altar E, the northernmost altar, was added to the existing row of altars sometime during this period⁸¹. The sanctuary may now have been hypaethral, consisting only of the *temenos* wall and the row of altars. Demeter was still worshipped on the Kastro and individuals were still coming to the goddess, but if the Thesmophoria existed in this sanctuary, it survived on a drastically reduced scale. At a time when the *polis* system may have been weakening throughout the Greek world under the constant stress of the unsettled political conditions, the Thesmophoria, an important *polis* cult, may also have become less important⁸².

⁸¹Unfortunately the Turkish disturbances across the sanctuary make it virtually impossible to tell if Altar E actually replaced any of the earlier altars, or if it was added to the end of the row. It seems likely that at least some of the other altars were now out of use, based on the base depths of the altar foundations. Altar E is placed on an approximately 30cm deep level of soil, not on bedrock as the other altars. A further indication of its later date is that Altar E and the bothros to the south could not have been functioning at the same time. Altar E, even in its partially preserved state, is almost built over top of the bothros. The bothros contained three offering vessels *in situ*, all of a late fourth to middle third century B.C. date.

⁸²The centuries of constant warfare with its accompanying fear of death, the unsettled political atmosphere, food shortages and even famines caused by war and pirate activity and an increasing freedom of movement for the individual seems to have engendered changes in the social and psychological world of the average Greek. Two important changes were the weakening of the *polis* and an increasing interest in the individual.

The Roman Sanctuary, First century B.C. / First century A.D.

Mytilene was occupied by the Pontic king Mithridates VI Eupator from 88 to 79 B.C. in his attempt to expand his kingdom and hinder the growth of Rome. The Romans, under the command of Julius Caesar, finally laid siege to the town and defeated Mithridates' forces. Through the auspices of elite Mytilenean families, the town quickly renewed her alliance with Rome and managed to gain financial independence⁸³. Mytilene prospered and grew wealthy under the Pax Romana. The island became very popular with the Romans in both the Republican and Imperial periods. It was a pleasant location to spend a few days or even weeks rest on a long trip from Rome to the east. There was an adulatory population, a generally pleasant climate, thermal springs for bathing, good food, famous wines and the island was close to transportation routes. A few of the noteworthy Roman citizens who stayed at Mytilene include: Marcus Agrippa who sojourned on Lesbos while he was out of favour with Caesar Augustus and Germanicus and his wife Agrippina who stayed on Lesbos for the birth of one of their daughters.

The history of the sanctuary in the early Roman period is unclear. The site was destroyed to foundation level and then covered with a deep layer dating to the first century B.C./first century A.D. It is, however, not known when the sanctuary went out of use or who razed the site. The problem is compounded by the physical characteristics of the Roman layer. Excavation revealed that this stratum had been brought to the site and dumped⁸⁴ but the artifacts contained within it are still cultic in nature, possibly connected to Demeter's worship. This level produced an amazing quantity of very fine, red gloss dining wares and large quantities of votive material including terracotta figurines of veiled males, miniature *arula* with burn marks for incense, numerous Ephesos lamps and a terracotta figurine of Isis, however, offerings typical of the earlier sanctuary levels were lacking. This layer contained very few female figurines and only a small quantity of suid bones, none of which could be connected to cultic activity. Importantly, the lack of these two artifact categories does not preclude this level from originating in a Demeter sanctuary - a change in votive

⁸³Potamon, Lesbokles, Krinagoras and Theophanes secured friendship with Rome and the Julio-Claudian house and used this patronage for the benefit of Mytilene. See: Parker, 1991, 115-120.

⁸⁴See Chapter Two, n. 114.

types at the beginning of the Roman period from the preponderance of female terracottas to lamps was noted at Demeter sanctuaries at both Knossos and at Abdera⁸⁵, and the disturbed quality of the level could account for the problem with the suid remains. Until early 1996, nothing securely connected this level to the worship of Demeter when Dr. C. Williams discovered a small sherd of a Roman moulded bowl with a *Thronosis* scene⁸⁶. *Thronosis* was undertaken by those being inducted into the Mysteries of Demeter. The exact ritual is unclear, but it is known that initiates sat on a stool and had their head covered with a cloth. It was possibly a re-enactment of the event described in the Hymn to Demeter when the goddess veiled herself in sorrow while she was at Eleusis, during her search for Kore⁸⁷.

The votives in the level, therefore, suggest that this soil was brought from a *nearby* Roman-period Demeter sanctuary, but the date of this activity is not known; it could have been as late as the Turkish period when the acropolis underwent massive refurbishments for the construction of Turkish housing. The fact that *Demeter* material was brought in to level the area is important because it implies that the Greek sanctuary was no longer in use in the first century. A *possible* date for the destruction of the sanctuary is during the occupation (and eventual expulsion) of the Pontic forces. This sanctuary could have been especially vulnerable because of its location on the acropolis, a position that was likely held and fortified by the invaders. It is unlikely that the Romans destroyed the sanctuary because they tended to foster Greek cults, supporting them with infusions of money, rather than closing them down⁸⁸. Inscriptions and coinage attest that Demeter worship was still active in Mytilene during the Roman period, so it is feasible that this sanctuary had been too badly damaged to use or it was no longer considered a satisfactory location for the festival.

Possible evidence for the destruction and re-founding of the sanctuary early in the first century is an inscription from the base of a statue of Dada (the elder) who was the wife of Lesbonax the philosopher and the mother of Potamon⁸⁹. This inscription states

⁸⁵Coldstream, 1973, 49. Κουκούλη-Χρυσανθάκη, 1987, 407 - 419.

⁸⁶Dr. C. Williams, March 1996, personal communication.

⁸⁷Hymn to Demeter 190-204.

⁸⁸Alcock, 1993, 172-214. Parker, 1991, 115-129. Pédech, 1991, 71-78. The Romans generally respected Greek local cult, only destroying or displacing it to punish people towns who had displeased them. Mytilene was held in high regard, seen as a friend and ally of Rome.

⁸⁹Parker, 1991, 125-126.

“Dada, daughter of Dies, in her office as priestess of the cult of Etephila was publicly commended for her efforts to revive local cults, just as Potamon and Theophanes were.”⁹⁰ This may indicate that one of the cults she re-founded was that of the Etephila where she herself held the office of priestess⁹¹. Further support for this theory is the close connections that this family always kept with this cult - Potamon held a priesthood, Philo and Claudia Dada (daughters of Potamon’s son) were heraldesses, while Aurelia Artemisia, the last known family descendant, was granted honours in the second or third century A.D. as a benefactress of Mytilene, a prytanis, and for continuing her family devotion to the cult of Etephila also as a priestess and heraldess.⁹²

⁹⁰IG 222 with Suppl. 21. Parker, 1991, 124-125.

⁹¹See n. 11 above.

⁹²Parker, 1991, 128.

Table Eleven: Dates

Date	Mytilene Sanctuary	Mytilene / Lesbos
1100 - 900 B.C.	No evidence of Demeter's cult on the acropolis.	Possible early settlement of Lesbos by refugees from mainland Greece. Archaeological evidence to date for such settlement has only been found at Mytilene and Pyrrha, and this dates to late PG.
900 - 800 B.C.	No evidence of Demeter's cult on the acropolis.	Archaeological evidence for settlement in the Early to Mid G period at Antissa and Methymna.
800 - 700 B.C.	No evidence of Demeter's cult on the acropolis.	Late eighth century B.C.: Mytilene and Methymna began to establish colonies in the Troad. Colonization continued into the sixth century B.C. Mytilene founded or took possession of: Hamaxitus, Larisa, Colonae, Sigeum, Achilleion, Ilion, Rhoeteum, Ophryneion, Antandrus, Neandria, Cebren.
700 - 600 B.C.	No evidence of Demeter's cult on the acropolis. Fragment of a poem by Sappho that mentions nocturnal rituals. This may be a reference to the Thesmophoria, either in Eresos, Sappho's home town, or in Mytilene, the town to which she moved.	Lesbos was organized into a <i>polis</i> system. Mytilene was the largest and most powerful of the six <i>poleis</i> on the island. Mytilene developed into a naval power. Genos Penthilidai had a 'βασιλικὴ δυναστεία' in Mytilene (dynastic rule ended in the sixth century with the election of Pittakos as <i>aesymnetes</i>). 42nd Olympiad (612/608) or later in 607/6 BC: Mytilene fought Athens after the Athenians took Sigeum, a Lesbian fortress in the Troad on the mouth of the Hellespont. Pittakos killed the Athenian commander Phryon in single combat. 42nd Olympiad (612/608 B.C.): possible birth or <i>floruit</i> of Sappho (Suda). 42nd Olympiad: Pittakos and the elder brothers of Alcaeus overthrew Melanchrus, the tyrant of Mytilene. c. 604 B.C. : the first exile of Alcaeus (spent in Pyrrha). His banishment was due to an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Myrsilus, who had succeeded Melanchrus as tyrant.
600 - 500 B.C.	Mid sixth century B.C.: The first evidence for religious activity of any type on the height of the acropolis of Mytilene dates to this period. Fragments of andesite Ionic, Doric and Aeolic columns	Mytilene had great commercial prosperity, wealth and luxury and the aristocratic class enjoyed a high standard of education. Main sources of income for the wealthy families included agriculture and trade. Lesbian wine was exported to Egypt and other Lesbian products were in demand from

	<p>were found immediately above bedrock. These fragments are not linked with the sanctuary of Demeter.</p>	<p>Sicily to the Black Sea. <i>Possible</i> acquisition of agricultural land on the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor. The land was settled with villages (κώμαι) which were owned by and dependant upon Mytilene. The produce from this area was an important source of food and surplus trade capital for Mytilene. 604/3 to 596/5 B.C. : Sappho was in exile in Sicily for an indeterminate duration within this period. Her daughter accompanied her in exile. Between 604 and 590 B.C., Pittakos, once allied with Alcaeus' brothers against the tyranny in Mytilene, deserted the alliance and joined Myrsilus in joint rule of the town. 590/89 B.C.: death of Myrsilus. Alcaeus calls for mass celebrations, but his joy was short lived. Pittakos was elected <i>aesymnetes</i> of Mytilene for ten years (590/89-579). 570/69 B.C. : Death of Pittakos. ?540 B.C.: Second loss of Sigeum to Athens. Athens and Mytilene continue to squabble over the fortress. 527 B.C. Mytilene fell under Persian dominance. Polykratis, Persian-backed tyrant of Samos, attacked Miletos. Lesbos sent a pan-Lesbian fleet to aid Miletos and was defeated. Prisoners were taken who were forced to dig (wearing chains) the moat around the walls of Samos. 525 B.C. : Lesbian element in Persian conquest of Egypt. 512 B.C.: Lesbian contingent went with the Persian expedition against the Skythians. Kois, the son of the commander of the Mytilene forces gave good advice to the Persians. Later, Kois, in reward for his good advice was granted sole rule over Mytilene as a Persian-backed tyrant. Lesbos supplied ships for the Persian fleet for their attacks on Imbros and Lemnos.</p>
500 - 400 B.C.	<p>Late Archaic and early fifth century terracottas of an enthroned female deity found on the acropolis. These artifacts indicate that the sanctuary area in use and possibly consecrated to Demeter.</p>	<p>499 B.C.: The overthrow and execution of Kois (the tyrant was stoned to death by the people of Mytilene) at the start of the Lesbian involvement in the Ionian Revolt (revolt from Persia). Ionian Revolt crushed. Greek cities re-</p>

	<p>Last half or third of the century: terracotta figurines and small quantities of feasting wares. The Sanctuary was in use, and it was probably dedicated to Demeter (based on type of finds).</p>	<p>taken by the Persians. Cities punished. 478 B.C. Lesbos gained freedom from the Persians and then joined the Confederacy of Delos. 428 B.C. Revolt of Lesbos. Mytilene lost to the Athenians. 427 B.C. Mytilene lost political control of her colonies on the Troad. 412 B.C. Revolt of the Athenian Allies, including Mytilene and Methymna. 412/11 B.C. Athens won back Lesbos. 406 B.C. Spartan forces took Methymna and blockade Athenian ships in the harbour of Mytilene. Battle of Arginusae. 405 B.C. Mytilene fell to the Spartans.</p>
400 - 300 B.C.	<p>The bulk of the pottery in the Demeter sanctuary dates between the late fourth century to the first half of the third century B.C. Pottery is associated with the architectural remains and the majority of the altars. This is possibly the most active phase of the sanctuary.</p>	<p>378/7 B.C. Mytilene and Methymna join the Second Athenian Confederacy. Second possible time period for acquisition of agricultural land on the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor(κώμαι). 354 B.C. Lesbos left the Second Athenian League. 334 B.C. Persians laid waste to greater part of Lesbos and laid siege to Mytilene, in an attempt to slow or stop Alexander. Mytilene remained autonomous under the rule of Alexander.</p>
300 -200 B.C.	<p>Sanctuary used extensively until the middle of the century (late fourth century to mid third century B.C.).</p>	<p>Lesbos changed rulers frequently in the second century, controlled in turn by the Macedonians, the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. Towns were ruled by a tyrant who was appointed by the current ruler. 316 B.C.: Mytilene ruled by the Antigonids of Macedon. 301 B.C.: Mytilene ruled by Lysimachos. 281 to 200 B.C.: Mytilene ruled by the Ptolemies.</p>
200 -100 B.C.	<p>Late third century and the second century B.C.: drastic changes occurred in the sanctuary - feasting wares virtually cease, but the vast majority of terracotta figurines dates from this time. The dining-hall/<i>oikos</i> was no longer standing, and possibly some of the altars were out of use. The northernmost altar may have been constructed during this time</p>	<p>190 B.C.: Mytilene sided with Rome in a battle against Antiochus III of Syria, contributing two triremes to the Roman fleet.</p>

	period.	
100 - 0 B.C.	The Roman Dump dates to this time, but it is unclear when the sanctuary actually went out of use.	<p>88 - 79 B.C. Mytilene occupied by Mithridates VI Eupator Dionysos the Great of Pontus, an enemy of Rome, until he was ousted by forces under the command of Julius Caesar. Mytilene renewed her alliance with Rome and gained financial independence.</p> <p>Lesbos was popular with Romans, especially with Pompey and later with the Imperial family.</p> <p>Marcus Agrippa stayed in Lesbos while he was out of favour with Caesar Augustus. One of the daughters of Germanicus and Agrippina was born in Mytilene.</p> <p>Agrippina was honoured as 'Karpophoros' (the fruitful or bounteous one) on the island.</p>

DEMETER AND THE CALENDARS OF ATTICA AND LESBOS

Table Twelve: Calendar of Attica:

Brumfield, Allaire C., 1981, The Attic Festivals of Demeter and Their Relation to the Agricultural Year. Salem: The Ayre Company.

<i>Attic Month</i>	<i>Modern Month</i>	<i>Festival</i>	<i>Season</i>
Hekatombaion	July/August		
Metageitnion	August/September	?Eleusinia	Summer
Boedromion	Sept./October	Greater Mysteries	Autumn
Pyanopsion	Oct./Nov.	Proerosia Stenia Thesmophoria	Autumn
Maimakterion	Nov./Dec.		
Poseideon	Dec./Jan.	Haloa	Winter
Gamelion	Jan./Feb.		
Anthesterion	Feb./March	Lesser Mysteries ?Chloaia	Spring
Elephebolion	March/April		
Mounychion	April/May		
Thargelion	May/June	?Chloaia	Summer
Skiraphorion	June/July	Skira	Summer

Table Thirteen: Calendar of Lesbos

Bischoff, E.F., RE X.2, 1577 and 1598.

Buchholz, Hans-Gunter. Methymna, 228 - 231.

Kern, O., RE IV 2747.

Month Number (from: Buchholz, 228-231)	Month Name and Equivalents	Occurrence	References
One	Θεοδαΐσιος. Ποσιδεών in Athens and Rhodes.	Θεοδαΐσιος is well attested in Mytilene, but it is not found in Methymna. This name is also known from: Crete, Anaphe, Kalymnos and Kos	<u>IG</u> XII ² 81, 10 and 68, 9; Suppl. 16f, 136a, 2. Herbst, <u>RE</u> XVI 2, 1462. Nilsson, <u>Griechische Feste</u> , 280, 471f.
Two	Δίος. Attic month Gamelion / Anthesterion.	Δίος is known from Lesbos, Pergamon and Thessaly. It was	<u>IG</u> XII Suppl. 16f. 29. <u>IG</u> XII ² 502.

		also the first month of the Macedonian year.	
Three	<p>Ἀγεppάνιος</p> <p>Attic Anthesterion and Epidaurian Elaphebolion.</p> <p>Identified with Διονύσιος at Methymna</p>	<p>Ἀγεppάνιος is found only at Eresos. The festival of Dionysos was held during this month.</p> <p>Ἀγεppάνιος is also known from: Rhodes, Syme, Kos, Kalymnos, Argos and Messene.</p>	<p>IG XII² 527, 26f, 45 (Eresos); Suppl. 16f and index. Shields, 61.</p> <p>IG XII² 502, 12. Shields, 61.</p>
Four	<p>Κορύδιος</p> <p>This month corresponds to April/May</p>	<p>Κορύδιος is found only at Mytilene. It may have been named after Artemis Korythalia and Apollo Korythos</p>	<p>IG XII² 81; Suppl. 16f.</p>
Five	<p>Ὅμολώιος</p> <p>Kern in <u>RE</u> IV 2747 associates Ὅμολώιος with Demeter at Eresos. Buchholz, however, does not agree, instead he associates it with Artemis and Apollo.</p> <p>Possibly equated with Ἰούνιος in the Roman calendar.</p>	<p>On Lesbos, Ὅμολώιος is found only at Eresos. It is, however, also known from Kyme, Boiotia and Thessaly where it is associated with Zeus Homoloios.</p>	<p>IG XII² 527, 44; Suppl. 16f. <u>Hermes</u> 26 (1891), 215f. Shields, 22.</p> <p>IG XII² 35, d20 and b39.</p>
Six	<p>Older name not known.</p> <p>Ἰουλαῖος in the Roman calendar</p>	<p>A Roman inscription from Mytilene gives a month name 'Pan'. This month does not otherwise fit into the calendar; possibly it was the older name for month six.</p>	<p>IG XII², 69. Shields, 73.</p> <p>Pottier-Hauvette Besnault, <u>BCH</u> 4 (1880), 440.</p>
Seven	<p>Ἀπολλώνιος</p>	<p>An inscription of 129 B.C. lists this month at Mytilene and Methymna. It is identified with Ἀπελλαῖος, which corresponds with Attic Hekatombaion</p>	<p>IG XII, Suppl. 16f; 17, 7. Pottier-Hauvette Besnault, <u>BCH</u> 4 (1880), 440. IG XII² 505, 10f; Suppl. 139, 37. Shields, 10.</p>

		at Delphi and to Skirophorion at Epidauros.	
Eight	[Τέ]ρφειος, Lesbian form of Τερφεύς. Another interpretation is [Ο]ρφεῖος, a month found at Magnesia on the Maeander. Month eight or nine - the sequence is not secure.	Mytilene or Eresos. This month is also known at Kyme.	IG XII Suppl. 138, 38; IG XII Suppl. 16f.
Nine	Πάνθειος Month eight or nine - the sequence is not secure.	Known from Methymna and Mytilene, but with a different spelling - Πανθήϊος. Πάνθειος is also known at Pergamon.	IG XII Suppl. 116, 3; IG XII ² 81.2, 4; IG XIV 759. Willamowitz, <u>Der Glaube der Hellenen</u> II ³ (1959) 341 mit Anm. 2; Ziehn, <u>RE</u> XVIII, 747.
Ten	Φράτριος Month of initiation into phratries? See: Isaeus vii, 15. The Thesmophoria may have been celebrated in Mytilene during this month.	On Lesbos, Φράτριος is known only at Mytilene. Also known at Kyme and Pergamon.	IG XII ² 25,7; Suppl. 16f.
Eleven	Ἡφαίστιος	Ἡφαίστιος is known on Lesbos, but not attested at Methymna.	Pottier-Hauvette Besnault, <u>BCH</u> 4, (1880), 440. IG XII Suppl. 16f, 29.5. Shields, 48.
Twelve	Ποσίδε(ι)ος This was the last month of the Attic year.	Ποσίδε(ι)ος is found on Lesbos but the exact locations are unknown.	IG XII ² 154; Suppl. 16f, 29. Shields, 42.
Sequence unknown.	Π[το]λεμαιῶν]	Π[το]λεμαιῶν] is known from two inscriptions from Methymna, but on both the name is fragmentary.	IG XII ² 500, 1; 502, 1. Shields, 85f.

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